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COMPLAINT
BEFORE THE
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

MUR 3774

INTRODUCTION

The Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee ("DSCC") files this complaint seeking an immediate investigation by the Federal Election Commission into the illegal spending practices of the National Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee ("NRSC").

As the public record shows, and an investigation will confirm, the NRSC and a series of ostensibly nonprofit, nonpartisan groups have undertaken a significant and sustained effort to funnel "soft money"¹ into federal elections in violation of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("FECA" or "the Act"), 2 U.S.C. §§ 431 et seq., and the Federal Election Commission ("FEC") Regulations, 11 C.F.R. §§ 100.1 et seq.

¹The term "soft money" as used in this Complaint means funds that would not be lawful for use in connection with any federal election (e.g., corporate or labor organization treasury funds, contributions in excess of the relevant contribution limit for federal elections).

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THE FACTS IN THIS CASE

On November 24, 1992, the state of Georgia held a unique runoff election for the office of United States Senator. Georgia law provided for a runoff if no candidate in the regularly scheduled November 3 general election received in excess of 50 percent of the vote. The 1992 runoff in Georgia was a hotly contested race between the Democratic incumbent, Wyche Fowler, and his Republican opponent, Paul Coverdell.

The Republicans presented this election as a "must-win" election. Exhibit 1. The Republicans were so intent on victory that Senator Dole announced he was willing to give up his seat on the Senate Agriculture Committee for Coverdell, if necessary. Because of the party's loss of the Presidency and poor showing in the Congressional and other Senate races on November 3, this race provided the Republicans an opportunity to save face. This attitude shaped the steps they took to circumvent the legal limits of the law for their candidate in this runoff.²

²The NRSC is already the respondent in a complaint pending before the Commission for exceeding the coordinated party spending limits of 2 U.S.C. 441a(d) in the runoff. The national and state parties' expenditure limit under § 441a(d) was \$535,608. The NRSC spent almost twice that amount in connection with the Georgia general election and runoff. The amounts detailed in this complaint are in addition to this already excessive spending.

Donations from NRSC

Between November 10, 1992 and November 18, 1992 -- after the general election in Georgia, but before the runoff -- the NRSC made \$122,000 in soft money contributions to various non-party organizations. Earlier, on October 20, 1992, the NRSC had donated an additional \$65,000 in soft money to the same groups for a total of \$187,000. Exhibit 2. Before October 20, the NRSC had not made a single soft money donation to any non-party group during the 1992 elections.

Four organizations received the money from the NRSC:

1. National Right to Life Committee

10/20/92	\$15,000
11/17/92	\$45,000

2. Coalitions for America

10/20/92	\$50,000
11/11/92	\$40,000

3. American Defense Foundation³

11/10/92	\$30,000
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4. Good Government Committee, Montgomery, Alabama

11/18/92	\$7,000
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³On March 2, 1993, the NRSC made an additional donation of \$170,000 to ADF for "party building." It would appear that the NRSC has resorted to this tactic again to influence the special Senatorial election in Texas.

Use of NRSC Funds

The donation of funds to these organizations on these dates was not coincidental. The organizations are closely tied to and have strongly supported the Republican Party over time. The public record shows that the groups apparently put the NRSC's money to use in the Georgia runoff.

1. National Right to Life Committee

This Committee endorsed Coverdell and participated actively in his election during the runoff. The group ran radio ads on his behalf and sent out a mailing attacking Wyche Fowler. At the same time the NRSC was donating \$45,000 to the NRLC, its PAC was making over \$15,000 in independent expenditures supporting Paul Coverdell. The committee also made a \$2,500 contribution to the candidate for the runoff on November 18, 1992, the same day many of the independent expenditures were made. Exhibit 3.

2. Coalitions For America

This group is described in the Washington Representatives (1990) as

A conservative lobbying organization which brings together a wide range of organizations for the purpose of coordinating strategy and organizing grass roots participation in the political process.

Its founder and National Chairman is conservative activist Paul Weyrich. Weyrich noted in a July 1992 interview that the conservative movement should "forget about the presidency and concentrate on Senate races and House races and term limitation initiatives and other things that matter to us." Exhibit 4.

CFA is designed to help him meet these goals. Created as a subsidiary of Weyrich's Free Congress Foundation, its principal activity has been the establishment of a satellite network for conservatives -- the Empowerment Network. Exhibit 5. The network is designed to provide information and instructions to conservative activists. As described by Weyrich in an interview with the Heritage Foundation:

We are also seeing the resurgence of local coalitions. James Dobson and Focus on the Family [another subsidiary of the Free Congress Foundation] are putting enormous resources into state family groups, some of which are now organized around the Coalitions for America satellite network, and which are learning to cooperate with each other by virtue of being plugged into Washington. We have just begun to work on this satellite project and it is growing daily. We will have movement headquarters all over America with trained activists who can work on an issue at any time. This will translate politically.

Exhibit 6. The network broadcasts to satellite stations around the country. The Free Congress Foundation, a 501(c)(3) tax-exempt organization, has published instructions for

attaching to the network in its newsletter, Empowerment.

Exhibit 7. In the same newsletter, Paul Weyrich explains the need for his organization: "to help the citizen activist wage a successful struggle against the big-spenders, the pornographers, the corrupt politicians and the unresponsive bureaucrats." As a successful example of this "struggle", Weyrich cites a San Diego citizen who "wrested control" of the local Republican party organization from "the liberal faction," recruited candidates and mobilized the electorate to vote for them.

Many of the receivers for the Empowerment Network are apparently located in churches. In his Heritage Foundation interview, Paul Weyrich acknowledged that he has tried to organize his various efforts around politically active churches, because of their potential ability to organize, register and turn out the vote. Exhibit 6.

CFA has begun to establish state networks. According to the October 19, 1992 issue of Insight magazine, the Georgia Empowerment Network was scheduled to open in the fall of 1992. Exhibit 8.

In keeping with its § 501(c)(3) tax status, the Coalition maintains that its activities are nonpartisan. Nonetheless, the Republican Party's appreciation for its efforts is clear.

In 1990, the group received an endorsement from none other than Senator Phil Gramm, Chairman of the NRSC. Gramm, along with other Republican party luminaries, have participated in CFA's activities. Exhibit 9.

3. American Defense Foundation

The ADF is a § 501(c)(3) organization that operates out of Alexandria, Virginia. The group takes positions on issues of interest to the military (opposing gays in the military and Clinton Administration cuts in the defense budget) and seeks to promote "public outreach," including voter registration and turnout among military personnel, both active and retired. Exhibit 10.

The ADF actively participated in the Georgia runoff, encouraging voter turnout through public appearances by the organization's founder, Eugene McDaniel, and through radio advertisements.⁴

4. Other Conservative Organizations

While there is no direct evidence of contributions from the NRSC in connection with the Georgia runoff, other

⁴DSCC has no information about the activities of the fourth recipient of NRSC's largess, the Good Government Committee of Montgomery, Alabama. However, the activities described within this Complaint make clear the need for an investigation.

conservative groups, most notably the Christian Coalition, were also active on behalf of Coverdell in the run-off. Coverdell's own media consultants in the race acknowledged that the Coalition sent out over one million pieces of mail during the runoff that favorably compared Coverdell's record to Fowler's. They state: "Paul Coverdell would not be a U.S. Senator today without the efforts of the religious conservatives." Exhibit 11. Curt Anderson, the NRSC's Coalitions Director for the 1992 elections, had appeared at a Christian Coalition leadership meeting in November 1991 at which he actively solicited the support of the Coalition in defeating incumbent Democrats. Exhibit 12.

The Coalition is currently under investigation by both the Internal Revenue Service⁵ and the Federal Election Commission, for its political activities. The Coalition has acknowledged that the IRS is conducting an audit of the organization. The FEC has pending before it a complaint filed last year by the Democratic National Committee alleging violations of the campaign laws in connection with 1992 House races. Exhibit 14.

⁵A similar organization, the Old Time Gospel Hour, founded by Jerry Falwell, was recently fined \$50,000 by the IRS and had its tax-exempt status revoked because of political activities. Exhibit 13.

Overlapping Interests

The facts set out previously are enough to raise questions about the legality of the activities undertaken by the NRSC and these groups in the Georgia run-off. But the questions are heightened when it becomes clear that the organizations in question do not operate alone, but coordinate their efforts through overlapping staff and operations. Some examples documented in Exhibit 15:

- Ralph Reed of the Christian Coalition is a member of the Board of Directors of the National Empowerment Television -- established by Coalitions for America. The network is described in an article as "an important new component of the Christian Coalition's arsenal" Ralph Reed has also stated that he deals with Curt Anderson (see below) of the NRSC on "a daily basis."
- The National Right to Life Committee has participated in broadcasts to "state and local political conservatives" on the Empowerment Network.
- During the 1992 elections, Curt Anderson was the NRSC's Coalitions Director and Southern Regional Coordinator. Before working for the NRSC, he was employed by Coalitions for America. As Southern

Regional Coordinator in 1992, Anderson would have been responsible for the NRSC's efforts in the Georgia run-off.

- In October 1990, the NRSC contributed \$64,000 to the Christian Coalition. Shortly thereafter, reports appeared of increased activity by the Coalition on behalf of Jesse Helms, then seeking reelection to the Senate.

These overlapping interests are not coincidental, but rather reflect the systematic efforts of the Republican party to coordinate its election efforts with conservative organizations. The financial support around the time of the Georgia run-off is only the most recent manifestation of the intertwining relationships of conservative groups with the Republican party and the NRSC as they pursue their common political agenda of electing Republican candidates to federal office. This coordination goes far beyond the legitimate efforts of a party committee in seeking support for its candidates from like-minded public interest groups. The NRSC has used the organizations as its agents in distributing moneys that could not otherwise be lawfully spent in connection with the elections in question.

History of Similar Activities by Republican Party

This is not the first instance of Republican Party efforts to elect its candidates through any means available, including illegal means. Through the years, the Party has repeatedly attempted to put excessive amounts of money into its candidates' races. Some examples:

- 1986: NRCC found in violation of spending limits for transferring \$10,000 to "nonpartisan" group to produce advertisements opposing the election of Democratic congressional incumbents.
- 1986: Colorado Republican Party found in violation of § 441a(d) spending limits in connection with U.S. Senate race.
- 1988: Complaint pending alleging RNC and NRSC transferred large quantities of soft money to the Montana State Party for use in connection with the U.S. Senate race.
- 1990: NRSC found in violation of contribution limits for excessive earmarked contributions to U.S. Senate candidates.

- 1992: Complaint pending alleging NRSC exceeded the § 441a(d) limits in connection with the Georgia Senate Run-off.

It is ironic that the NRSC has so actively intertwined its efforts with ostensibly nonpartisan tax-exempt organizations. In 1988, the NRSC filed a complaint with the FEC against Citizen Action, a § 501(c)(4) organization, alleging that the group had engaged in partisan activities (on behalf of the Democratic candidate) in the Wisconsin Senate race. Exhibit 16.

This effort was followed up during the campaign finance reform debate in 1991: Senator McConnell introduced legislation to deny § 501(c) status to any organization that engaged in political activities of virtually any nature. In the debate on the amendment Senator McConnell alleged that these types of organizations were "sinkholes" for soft money, and asserted:

. . . in dealing with soft money [this bill] crunches the soft money out of the parties but leaves all soft money expenditures by nonparties completely unaffected . . .

* * * *

With computerized phone banks, targeted direct mail, intricate money-transferring schemes, and coordinated earned media strategies, these tax-free corporations run possibly the most sophisticated black market in America. None of

this activity -- I repeat, none of this activity -- is publicly disclosed.

Exhibit 17. The measure was tabled.

Senator Gramm, chairman of the NRSC, also introduced legislation during the same debate to restrict the political activities of tax-exempt organizations. Exhibit 18. His advocacy of the proposed amendment rings hollow in light of the current efforts by the NRSC to use to its full political advantage the tax-exempt organizations described in this Complaint:

We have banned one source of soft money [in this bill]: that is from political parties. I hope my colleagues understand that that is clearly intended to affect one political party, and that is the party that uses the party mechanism. The party that uses special-interest groups, 501(c)(3)'s, and labor unions is totally and absolutely exempt in this bill from any form of regulation.

This amendment was also tabled.

THE LAW

The FECA sets out specific well-defined spending allowances for NRSC on behalf of their Senate nominees. The committee may, together with the Republican National Committee, contribute up to \$17,500 directly (or in-kind) to the candidate, 2 U.S.C. § 441a(h), and, assuming the RNC has delegated its spending right, the NRSC may spend up an

additional amount on their behalf under the limits established by 2 U.S.C. § 441a(d).⁶

These are the only choices available to the NRSC in expending funds specifically to promote the election of its nominee or the defeat of the Democratic nominee. Political parties are prohibited from making "independent" expenditures in support of their candidates in the general election.

11 C.F.R. §§ 110.7(a)(5) and (b)(4). Any coordination of efforts by the party with groups intending to make independent expenditures will "taint" those expenditures as well.

11 C.F.R. § 109.1.

The Federal Election Campaign Act expressly prohibits the use of soft money by a national party committee in connection with federal elections.⁷ 2 U.S.C. § 441b. While the Commission's regulations allow national party committees to raise and spend nonfederal funds, the funds must be used for legitimate nonfederal purposes (or for the limited building

⁶As noted above, the § 441a(d) spending by the NRSC in the Georgia election has been challenged in a complaint currently pending before the FEC.

⁷The statute does allow certain limited uses of soft money, as for example, a corporation's communications with its employees. These exceptions, however, do not apply to the activities described in this complaint. The activities of the organizations in question, for example, included public political advertising through radio and television broadcasts.

fund exemption). Where nonfederal funds are actually used to influence federal elections, the use is illegal. The use of soft money for activities of a national party committee that could ordinarily be allocated between federal and nonfederal funds (such as development of voter files, registration of voters or get-out-the-vote activities) is illegal when such activities are directed toward the election of a single federal candidate.

This complaint has set out the repeated use of nonfederal funds by the NRSC for the clear purpose of influencing a federal election. Where the Committee has made donations to nonparty groups with the knowledge that the funds will be used to influence federal elections, the expenditures must be treated as if they were given to or spent on behalf of the federal candidate. See by analogy, 11 C.F.R. § 110.1(h):

A person may contribute to a candidate or his or her authorized committee with respect to a particular election and also contribute to a political committee which has supported, the same candidate in the same election, as long as --

(1) The political committee is not the candidate's principal campaign committee or other authorized political committee or a single candidate committee;

(2) The contributor does not give with the knowledge that a substantial portion will be contributed to, or expended on behalf of, that candidate for the same election; and

(3) The contributor does not retain control over the funds.

That the NRSC had knowledge that the funds it donated were to be used to influence the Georgia runoff is obvious from both the timing of the disbursements, the recipients with which the NRSC coordinated its activities, and the past history of similar efforts to circumvent the law.

The NRSC cannot take shelter behind the fact that the organizations are tax-exempt and, therefore, presumably nonpartisan in their efforts. First, the NRSC has clearly coordinated its political efforts with these groups, removing any trace of nonpartisanship from their efforts.

More importantly, expenditures have been found to be for the purpose of influencing an election where the message of the communication goes "beyond issue discussion to express electoral advocacy." Massachusetts Citizens for Life v. Federal Election Commission, 479 U.S.C. 238, 249 (1986). Subsequent decisions have required an analysis of the "whole message" being communicated to the public, including the intent of the communication, the understanding of the recipient, and the timing of the communication. Federal Election Commission v. Harvey Furgatch, 807 F.2d 857 (9th Cir. 1987), cert. denied, 484 U.S. 850 (1987). See also Federal

Election Commission v. National Organization of Women, 713 F. Supp. 428 (D.D.C. 1989).

Similarly, the Commission itself has found expenditures to be made for the purpose of influencing federal elections (and, therefore, subject to the limits of § 441a(d)), where:

These advertisements relate primarily, if not solely, to [a single federal office] and seek to influence a voter's choice between the Republican Party . . . candidate and any Democratic Party nominee in such a way as to favor the choice of the Republican candidate.

FEC Advisory Opinion 1984-15, 1 Fed. Election Camp. Fin. Guide [CCH] ¶ 5819. See also FEC Advisory Opinion 1985-14, 1 Fed. Election Camp. Fin. Guide [CCH] ¶ 5766. It is significant to note that in neither of these opinions did the Commission find a requirement that the communications contain "express advocacy." In keeping with the court decisions discussed above, the Commission recognized that a communication was for the purpose of influencing an election where it "effectively" advocated the defeat of a candidate. AO 1985-14. See also, FEC Advisory Opinion 1992-23, 1 Fed. Election Camp. Fin. Guide [CCH] ¶ 6064.

CONCLUSION

The facts and law discussed above present a clear picture: the efforts by a national Republican party committee

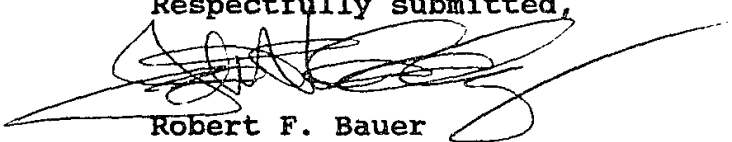
to use other organizations to systematically violate the source restrictions and expenditure limits established for federal elections by law. Given the repeated history of the Republican party in general, and the NRSC in particular, the FEC must not delay in acting to correct the situation. There is a strong likelihood that these violations will continue during the special election in 1993 and during the 1994 election cycle.

On the basis of the foregoing, the DSCC asks that the FEC:

1. Conduct on an expedited basis an investigation of the facts set out above and determine the exact dollar amounts of the illegal spending by the NRSC;
2. Enter into a prompt conciliation with Respondents to remedy the violations alleged in this Complaint, and most importantly, to ensure that the violations will not recur; and

3. Impose any and all penalties grounded in violations alleged in this Complaint.

Respectfully submitted,



Robert F. Bauer
Judith L. Corley
Counsel for DSCC

Subscribed and sworn to before me
this 6th day of May, 1993.

Donna M. Lenhart
Notary Public

My commission expires: 2/28/98

Donna M. Lenhart
Notary Public, District of Columbia
My Commission Expires Feb. 28, 1998

2004-03-09 10:00

EXHIBIT 1

Atlanta Journal Constitution

11/24/92

Politicians of all stripes target state

By Mark Sherman
STAFF WRITER AJC

A president, two first ladies and the Senate minority leader added their voices Friday to the cacophonous U.S. Senate campaign, which has taken on the appearance of a national battle.

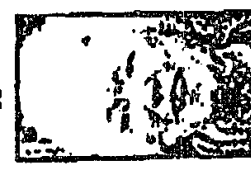
First lady Barbara Bush appeared in Rosewell with GOP candidate Paul Coverdell to remark repeatedly on his "absolute integrity."

In Valdosta, former President Jimmy Carter, joined by his wife, Rosalynn, called Sen. Wyche Fowler Jr. one of the "good people in politics."

Before Tuesday's runoff, Georgians will think they are reliving the presidential campaign.



Mr. Carter



Mrs. Bush

Big-name Republicans and Democrats will hit every corner of the state in an effort to bring out voters just two days before Thanksgiving.

President-elect Bill Clinton will campaign Monday in Macon and Albany. Tennessee Sen. Al Gore, vice president-elect, will visit Savannah Sunday.

Also Monday, Democratic

National Chairman Ron Brown will meet the press and the public in Brunswick, Savannah, Port Valley and Augusta. At the same time, farm-state congressional Democrats, led by Nebraska Sen. Bob Kerrey, Alabama Sen. Howell Heflin and Florida Sen. Bob Graham will ride through Santa Georgia.

GOP surrogates also will blanket the state Monday.

Education Secretary Lamar Alexander will tour North Georgia along with Labor Secretary Lynn Martin, Housing and Urban Development Secretary Jack Kemp and Texas Sen. Phil Gramm, possible 1996 presidential hopefuls, are both expected in Atlanta that day as well.

POLITICS

GEORGIA

Runoff Turns on Question Of Which Voters Return

Democratic Sen. Wyche Fowler Jr. and Republican Paul Coverdell both went to church the Sunday after the general election. But even in their choice of places to worship they demonstrated that their political duel continues.

For Fowler and Coverdell, the election of 1992 is not over. Fowler fell short of an outright majority Nov. 3, so the two will meet in a runoff Nov. 24.

So Fowler, whose fortunes depend largely on how many blacks return to the polls, was among the faithful at the predominantly black Salem Baptist Church in Atlanta.

And Coverdell, who enjoyed strong support from the Christian Right, headed for the First Baptist Church of Atlanta, a conservative and predominantly white bastion.

The outcome Nov. 24 is expected to turn on turnout, which is expected to fall sharply from the 72 percent of registered voters who voted Election Day. Some estimate that it could be as low as 20 percent or even 15 percent.

Fowler, a former House member, was first elected to the Senate in 1988, with black voters supplying his margin of victory. On Nov. 3, Fowler received 49 percent, again relying heavily on black precincts. Turnout in these precincts was high, as the state increased the number of blacks in its House delegation from one to three. But Fowler will be alone on the ballot Nov. 24.

Coverdell, a former state legislator and Peace Corps director, received 46 percent on Nov. 3. Libertarian Jim Hudson garnered 3 percent.

General-election runoffs are exceedingly rare. Ten states — most in the South — require runoffs when no candidate receives a majority of votes in a primary. And incumbents are of-

Portentous Precedents

In the past 20 years, six Senate incumbents have been forced into runoffs in states where the law requires an outright majority. But in each of these six cases, the runoff occurred after the Democratic primary rather than the general election. In each case, the incumbent led after the primary; in only two cases, the incumbent prevailed in the runoff.

Winners

- 1972, John L. McClellan, D-Ark., beat David Pryor in the runoff and was re-elected.
- 1980, Herman E. Tammidge, D-Ga., beat Zell Miller in the runoff but lost the general election to Republican Mack Mattingly.

Losers

- 1972, David H. Gambrell, D-Ga., lost the runoff to Sam Nunn, who won the general election. (Gambrell had been appointed to fill the vacancy that occurred when Democrat Richard B. Russell died in 1971.)
- 1978, Maryon Pittman Allen, D-Ala., lost the runoff to Donald W. Stewart, who won the special general election. (Allen had been appointed to fill the position when James B. Allen, D, died in 1978.)
- 1980, Stewart lost the runoff to Jim Folsom Jr., who then lost the general election to Republican Jeremiah Denton.
- 1980, Richard Stone, D-Fla., lost the runoff to Bill Gunter, who lost the general election to Republican Paula Hawkins.

cumbents, Bullock said. "On both counts, it doesn't look good for Fowler," he added.

National Numbers

There's more at stake in Georgia Nov. 24 than in a typical Senate race.

Democrats will hold a 56-42 lead in the 103rd as a result of Senate elections held so far this year. The party is favored to win a North Dakota special election Dec. 4, bringing its number of seats back to 57 (where it has stood since November 1991).

If Fowler loses, the Democrats will not have managed any gain in the Senate despite Bill Clinton's presidential triumph. Republicans, who late in the campaign had feared a fall to 40 seats, could say instead that they had held the line.

There has been talk of President-elect Clinton and Vice President-elect Al Gore stumping for Fowler. An appearance by Clinton could prompt political analysts to

view this as something of a referendum on the incoming administration. Whether Clinton will visit is uncertain. Clinton is not particularly close to Fowler, he is not likely to court such an early test of his political strength, and he received fewer votes in Georgia than either Fowler or Coverdell.

Democrats also would like to keep this seat because senior Democratic Sen. Sam Nunn is being prominently mentioned as a possible secretary of State or Defense. Democratic Gov. Zell Miller would appoint a successor to Nunn if he got a Cabinet slot, but Democrats might have a tough time holding on to that seat in a subsequent election. Appointive senators historically must struggle to win election in their own right.

Finally, Georgia Republicans would see winning the Senate seat as a capstone to a banner year. Long out-

ten at a distinct disadvantage when drawn into a primary runoff.

"The expectations have shifted," said Merle Black, a political science professor at Emory University. Until shortly before the general election, Black noted, "this was a contest Fowler was supposed to win pretty handily."

Now, however, Coverdell may have an edge. Libertarian Hudson has endorsed him over Fowler, and the local chapter of United We Stand America, backers of presidential candidate Ross Perot, has done the same.

Charles Bullock, a political science professor at the University of Georgia, recently co-authored a book that examined runoffs between 1970 and 1986. He found that front-runners were much more likely to be successful in a runoff if they led by a significant margin in the primary. Front-runners also fared better if they were not in-

By Jeffrey L. Katz



Fowler

Coverdell

manned in Georgia, the GOP would go from holding one House seat in 10 districts in the 102nd Congress to four seats out of 11 in the 103rd. They boosted their representation in the state legislature, though they remain a minority there.

The Nov. 3 returns indicate some clear patterns in the Senate race.

Fowler captured about 60 percent of the votes in Fulton County (Atlanta) and the populous suburb of De Kalb County. But Coverdell showed similar strength in the predominantly GOP suburban counties of Cobb and Gwinnett. Coverdell also ate into Fowler's strength in the North Georgia mountains; a visit by Gore into the counties dominated by the Chattanooga media market might serve Fowler well.

Fowler, who outspent Coverdell by more than 2-to-1 in the general election, will probably also have a financial edge in the runoff. He is liable to concentrate on phone banks and get-out-the-vote efforts, especially in black communities.

Women in Question

Another challenge to Fowler will be to win back women who were alienated by his support for the Supreme Court nomination of Clarence Thomas. "A lot of women activists sat on their hands in the election thinking they would punish him," said Bill Shipp, who publishes a newsletter on Georgia politics. "They were also fairly certain [Fowler] would win."

Fowler was hurt in the weeks leading up to the general election by attack ads that portrayed him as untrustworthy. Coverdell's ads said Fowler talks conservatively in Georgia but votes a liberal line in Congress, and that he formerly benefited from the House bank's overdraft protection.

Fowler's responses were largely seen as ineffective. He has tried to fight back in the runoff with an ad that turns the trust issue around, accusing Coverdell of conflicts of interest while in the legislature and of

poorly running the Peace Corps.

"Everything that we did that worked they're trying to steal," complained Bill Crane, Coverdell's press secretary. But, Crane said, "We've got the expanding base, we've got the emerging base."

Coverdell Calls Christians

Coverdell must also work to make sure his own supporters return to the polls.

A large number of Christian Right activists who supported him were motivated to vote Nov. 3 to show their

opposition to a lottery initiative that was narrowly approved.

Coverdell, who does not hew to an anti-abortion line, does not have long-standing ties to the Christian Right. He was not the first choice of that wing of the party during the GOP primary.

The only other race on the Nov. 24 ballot will be a runoff for a seat on the five-member state Public Service Commission. If the Republican nominee wins, it will mark the first time that a Republican has won a Georgia state office that is elected statewide. ■

CALIFORNIA

Absentee Ballots Push Calvert To Victory in 43rd District

Absentee ballots have lifted Republican Ken Calvert to victory in California's Riverside-based 43rd District, reversing the outcome announced after the Nov. 3 balloting.

When all 525 precincts had reported, Democrat Mark A. Takano had led by 1,234 votes. But absentee ballots, including 27,000 "walk-in" absentee ballots turned in on Election Day, told another story.

When they had been counted, Calvert had climbed to a 481-vote lead.

Frank Johnson, the registrar of voters in Riverside County, said on Nov. 12 that only a few more absentee ballots remained to be counted — not nearly enough to affect the outcome. Johnson said the official results will be released Nov. 23.

Takano has said he might call for a recount, but such action cannot be taken until the vote tally is complete.

Calvert, a real estate executive from Corona, said he had expected that the absentee ballot count would turn the race in his favor. He noted that much of his get-out-the-vote effort had been concentrated on absentee ballots. Calvert said he had learned the lesson of absentee ballots in 1982, when he lost a congressional primary bid largely because he had not gone after absentee votes. (Profile, p. 3842)

Usually this suburban portion of the vast Los Angeles metropolitan area would be considered safe Repub-

lican territory, but tough economic times made it competitive this year. Riverside County as a whole voted Democratic for president for the first time since 1964.

Riding that momentum and running an impressive campaign, Takano, a 31-year-old schoolteacher, appeared to have clinched his upset with enough of a margin to withstand absentee ballots or a recount.

He had already begun hiring a staff and participating in meetings for new members of Congress. But on Nov. 8, when Democratic officials visited Los Angeles, Takano informed them that the count had begun to run against him.

Special Rules

In many states, voters who wish to vote with an absentee ballot must provide an excuse for not voting at the polls. But California law encourages absentee balloting or "voting by mail" — a practice now so widespread in the state that political professionals refer to it as VBM. California even lets voters bring absentee ballots to the polls for deposit on Election Day.

But one side effect of such voting is that the closest races take longer to call when the outcome hinges on absentee ballots. The absentee ballots take longer to count than those cast at the polls Election Day because the signatures on each must be verified by hand.

Democrats generally fare poorly when the results depend on absentee

By Ines Plano Allen

LEVEL 2 - 1 OF 15 STORIES

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The Atlanta Journal and Constitution

<November> 23, 1992

SECTION: STATE NEWS; Section B; Page 1
LENGTH: 890 words

HEADLINE: <Coverdell> Fowler take final swings Clinton visits Ga. to stump for
incumbent before runoff

BYLINE: By Ben Smith III and Mark Sherman STAFF WRITERS

KEYWORD: politics; elections; congress; georgia

BODY:

Sen. Wyche Fowler Jr. and <Republican> challenger Paul <Coverdell> dragged out the big guns today in a hectic final day of campaigning before Tuesday's Senate runoff.

Mr. Fowler brought in the biggest gun - President-elect Bill Clinton - for rallies in Macon and Albany while Mr. <Coverdell> countered with visits by, among others, Senate Minority Leader Sen. Bob <Dole> of Kansas; Texas Sen. Phil <Gramm>; Education Secretary Lamar Alexander and Labor Secretary Lynn Martin to Macon, Albany, Augusta and Savannah.

While the rest of the country prepares for Thanksgiving, Georgians return to the polls Tuesday to settle the U.S. Senate race and a runoff for the Georgia Public Service Commission between <Republican> Bobby Baker and Democrat John Frank Collins.

Secretary of State Max Cleland has predicted a turnout of 25 percent on what will be a cloudy, rainy day over much of the state.

In Macon, busloads of schoolchildren and a sizable contingent of older Georgians waved red and blue streamers as they waited for Mr. Clinton, who arrived more than an hour late.

Standing in front of Macon City Hall, Mr. Clinton told about 2,000 people that Mr. Fowler stands for the same things he does.

"I came over here today because I believe that Wyche Fowler represents the kind of change we need," he said. "I believe he will vote to help me reform the political system."

Never mentioning the <Republican> nominee by name, Mr. Clinton also criticized the negative tone of this three-week runoff campaign. "I came here to campaign, in short, against the kind of negative politics to which your Senator Fowler has been subjected in this election," he said.

"I want you to know that this is the first state and the first city that I have visited as president-elect of the United States, except Washington, D.C.," said Mr. Clinton, to a rousing cheer.

Mr. Fowler promised Mr. Clinton his support. "He knows that after you make your decision tomorrow that I will be at his side whenever he needs me," the freshman Democrat said.

Vice president-elect Al Gore stamped the state Sunday for Mr. Fowler.

Mr. <Coverdell> began his day in Carrollton with his all-star <GOP> lineup.

"Wyche Fowler got a vote of non-confidence on Nov. 3.," Mr. <Coverdell> told a gathering of 20 supporters in downtown Carrollton. "On Nov. 24, we're going to give him a vote of total no-confidence and let [him] come home and apply for the first job he will have ever had in his life."

Mr. <Coverdell> traveling on a chartered bus called Asphalt One for this

first leg of his one-day swing, stopped in Pity Pat's Cafe to have a cup of coffee and talk with a half-dozen voters.

Mr. <Coverdell> then flew to Lookout Mountain, Tenn., where he was joined by Mr. Alexander at Covenant College. Mr. Alexander, who arrived toward the end of Mr. <Coverdell's> talk to 150 students, told them, "Georgia needs an independent voice who will support Clinton when he is right and speak out when he is wrong. It's time to get the liberal junior senator out and put Paul <Coverdell> in."

Mr. <Coverdell> was scheduled to travel to Augusta and Savannah to be joined on the stump by South Carolina Gov. Carroll Campbell and Ms. Martin.

Meanwhile, four U.S. senators - Mr. <Dole>, Mr. <Gramm>, Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.) and John Warner (R-Va.) also planned to make campaign appearances for Mr. <Coverdell> in Macon, Columbus and Savannah.

The <Republican> heavy hitters were to convene in Marietta with Mr. <Coverdell> at a rally at the end of the day.

On Sunday, the candidates presented their last televised appeals for votes, offering starkly different visions of how they would vote on key issues in the next Congress.

Mr. <Coverdell>, a former Peace Corps director under President Bush, said he would oppose gun-control measures - including a waiting period - raising taxes on the wealthy and the Freedom of Choice Act.

While Mr. Fowler and Mr. <Coverdell> visited metro churches, Mr. Gore stumped for black votes in Savannah churches.

Mr. Gore urged worshippers at three churches to "break the gridlock in Washington" by returning Mr. Fowler to the Senate.

Mr. <Coverdell> attended only one service Sunday, at the First Baptist Church of Atlanta's Dunwoody branch, accompanied by his sister, Patty Clark, and Sally Atwater, widow of former <Republican National> Committee Chairman Lee Atwater.

Mr. Fowler visited eight black churches in Atlanta. He urged parishioners at Simpson Street Church of Christ to go to the polls and take five people with them to ensure Senate support for Mr. Clinton's agenda.

"I will help the new president. My opponent won't," he said.

While there was no new ground covered in the debate, it offered both candidates a chance to ask for support in the state's largest television market.

"If you voted for Clinton for change, vote for <Coverdell>. If you voted for [Ross] Perot because you thought we needed work on the debt and deficit, vote for <Coverdell>. And if you voted for George Bush because you believe in a strong America, vote for <Coverdell>," the Republican said in his closing statement.

Afterward, Mr. Fowler said that comment reflected Mr. <Coverdell's> efforts to please all voters - a charge Mr. <Coverdell> also has raised about his Democratic opponent.

Staff writers Mark Curriden and Jingle Davis and The Associated Press contributed to this article.

LEVEL 2 - 4 OF 15 STORIES

Copyright 1992 The Times Mirror Company
Los Angeles Times

<November> 21, 1992, Saturday, Home Edition

SECTION: Part A: Page 28: Column 1: <National> Desk

LENGTH: 775 words

HEADLINE: POLITICAL SEASON'S INDIAN SUMMER: SENATE CAMPAIGN HEATS UP IN GEORGIA;

POLITICS: CLINTON JOINS HEAVY HITTERS STUMPING IN FOWLER-<COVERDELL> RUNOFF. THE OUTCOME IS SEEN AS A GAUGE OF PRESIDENT-ELECT'S STRENGTH.

BYLINE: BY WILLIAM J. EATON, TIMES STAFF WRITER

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

BODY:

<National> politicians have Georgia on their mind. *

So President-elect Bill Clinton is going to hit the campaign trail again -- this time not for himself but on behalf of an embattled Democrat, Sen. Wyche Fowler Jr. of Georgia, who faces a do-or-die runoff election Tuesday against <Republican> Paul <Coverdell>.

Georgia law requires that candidates must receive 50% of the vote to win. Fowler fell short of that on Nov. 3, receiving only 49% to 48% for <Coverdell> in a three-way race. As a result, they were forced into a one-on-one rematch that has <national> implications.

Both parties are placing much emphasis on the race, which has developed into a nasty contest marked by name-calling, personal invective and negative advertising.

Clinton plans appearances Monday with Fowler at get-out-the-vote rallies in Albany and Macon. First Lady Barbara Bush and other big-name <Republicans> have appeared on <Coverdell's> behalf.

At stake is a vote that could be crucial in early tests of strength between the Clinton Administration and the <Republican> opposition.

A Fowler loss would be an embarrassing setback for the incoming chief executive, and reelection would add to Clinton's strength in dealing with Congress and demonstrate anew that he can be a factor in close contests.

A <Coverdell> victory, in contrast, would not only restore some <Republican> confidence but provide a potentially critical vote in the Senate, where <GOP> strategists believe they have their best chance of blocking Clinton programs that they regard as unwise or too costly.

If Fowler retains his seat, Democrats will have a 58-42 majority in the Senate -- a net gain of one over the last session of Congress.

If he loses, the party division will remain at 57-43 and give <Republican> senators a slightly better chance of killing legislation by talking it to death. It takes 60 votes to stop a filibuster in the Senate. While roll-calls on votes to shut off debate do not always follow party lines, they often are decided by a one-vote or two-vote margin if underlying legislation is controversial.

The runoff also may have a symbolic meaning since Fowler is presenting himself as a loyal Clinton man and <Coverdell> has echoed President Bush's policy stands.

"I have pledged cooperation with Bill Clinton," Fowler said in a recent debate. "The question is whether Georgia is going to be part of the new partnership."

"I am for a balanced budget amendment, the line-item veto and term limits, and he is against them," said <Coverdell>, a former director of the Peace Corps in the Bush Administration.

Herb Mabry, president of the Georgia AFL-CIO, who supports Fowler, put it this way: "We don't need a bad imitation of George Bush representing Georgia in the Senate." Tracking polls show the race "pretty much dead even," said Sen. Phil <Gramm> (R-Tex.), head of the <National Republican> Senatorial Committee, who has been lining up top-level <Republicans> to campaign for <Coverdell>.

Polls, however, are of little help in runoff balloting, where the turnout may be as low as one-fourth to one-third of the total vote cast on Nov. 3, when a record 70% of Georgia voters turned out to decide elections at levels ranging from the local courthouse to the White House. Officials in Georgia estimate that only 25% of eligible voters will turn out Tuesday.

So both Democrats and <Republicans> are mounting major efforts to bring out voters.

It has been a star-studded campaign in the last three weeks. Vice

President-elect Al Gore stumped for Fowler with actress Kim Basinger, while film star Charlton Heston campaigned with <Coverdell.>

Others who have joined the fray include former President Jimmy Carter and his wife, Rosalynn, who traveled with their fellow Democrat in South Georgia, and Senate Minority Leader Bob <Dole> (R-Kan.), who made a second trip to the state to help <Coverdell.>

While Fowler initially was rated the underdog after a lackluster campaign before the Nov. 3 election, the infusion of outside help, including Clinton's top media consultant, Frank Greer, appears to have boosted his chances.

"He may have found his legs, but he was looking pretty bad," said one Georgia political observer.

Normally, <GOP> candidates do better in low-turnout elections because <Republican> voters historically are more likely to cast ballots. But in the Fowler-<Coverdell> face-off, the political organizations of Georgia Gov. Zell Miller and organized labor will be working for the Democrats, so the race generally is seen as a tossup.

"It's not hopeless by any means," said Sen. Charles S. Robb (D-Va.), head of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee. "It's jump ball again."

GRAPHIC: Photo, First Lady Barbara Bush and <Republican> senatorial candidate Paul <Coverdell> shake hands with supporters at a rally in Roswell, Ga.
Associated Press

LEVEL 2 - 7 OF 15 STORIES

Proprietary to the United Press International 1992

<November> 20, 1992, Friday, BC cycle

SECTION: General News

DISTRIBUTION: Georgia

LENGTH: 490 words

HEADLINE: Georgia Senate runoff attracts <national> attention

BYLINE: BY STEVE GLASSER

DATELINE: ATLANTA

KEYWORD: GEORGIA

BODY:

Several <national> political figures, including President-elect Bill Clinton, are focusing their energies on the Senate runoff race Tuesday between Democratic incumbent Wyche Fowler and <Republican> challenger Paul <Coverdell>

Clinton is scheduled to campaign for Fowler Monday in Macon and Albany.

Fowler has already received campaign help from Vice President-elect Al Gore, former President Jimmy Carter, Sen. Sam Nunn, D-Ga., Democratic <National> Committee Chairman Ron Brown, actress Kim Basinger and Michael Stipe, lead singer of the rock band R.E.M.

<Coverdell's> campaign included appearances by Senate Minority Leader Bob <Dole>, First Lady Barbara Bush, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Jack Kemp, Sen. Phil <Gramm> R-Tex., Sen. Connie Mack, R-Fla. and actor Charlton Heston.

Fowler received 49 percent of the vote in the Nov. 3 general election.

<Coverdell, the Republican> nominee, received 48 percent of the vote, while Libertarian candidate Jim Hudson got 3 percent. Both Hudson and the Georgia campaign force for independent presidential candidate Ross Perot then endorsed <Coverdell>

Under Georgia law, a runoff is required if no candidate receives 50 percent of the vote.

Secretary of State Max Cleland has predicted a 25 percent voter turnout on Tuesday. A low voter turnout has traditionally favored <Republican> candidates.

The campaign has drawn charges and counter-charges from the candidates, questioning each other's ethics, integrity and business practices.

<Coverdell> campaign ads have characterized Fowler as a "tax and spend liberal who votes with Ted Kennedy."

Fowler's ads call <Coverdell> a "shady businessman" whose only interest is in benefitting the rich.

Gore told a Fowler rally in Athens Wednesday that a vote for the incumbent is a vote to keep an administration advocate in Washington to help end gridlock on Capitol Hill.

"Bill Clinton and I were elected by the people of the United States to break the gridlock and bring positive change, more jobs, more access to health care and an improved way of life in our country," said Gore. "Bill Clinton and I need Wyche Fowler in the United States Senate."

<Dole> plane-hopping across the state with <Coverdell> Friday, said Georgia voters are more in tune with the <GOP> challenger, who he said had gained the support of Libertarians and Perot supporters, even Clinton Democrats.

"It's people in Georgia who are concerned about striker replacement legislation, OSHA regulations, D.C. legislation. They need <Coverdell> up there," said <Dole> "We want him, of course. But he's reflecting Georgia on Capitol Hill."

Mrs. Bush told a <Coverdell> rally Friday in Roswell that it is important to have a <Republican> representing Georgia in the Senate.

"Able people of complete integrity like Paul <Coverdell> know the real world and know how to make government smaller, not bigger," she said.

20.04.397.0007

EXHIBIT 2

SCHEDULE B

ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENTS

Page

1

of

1

Line Number

5

NAME OF COMMITTEE

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN SENATORIAL COMMITTEE/ACNFEDERAL

(Any information copied from such Reports and Statements may not be sold or used by any person for the purpose of soliciting contributions or for commercial purposes, other than using the name and address of any political committee to solicit contributions from such committee.)

DATE AMOUNT
(MONTH, OF EACH
DAY, DISBURSEMENT
YEAR) THIS PERIOD

NAME, ADDRESS, CITY, STATE, ZIP
NATIONAL REPUBLICAN SENATORIAL COMMITTEE

PURPOSE OF DISBURSEMENT
CONTRIBUTION

10/20/92 50000.00

1717 2ND STREET NE
WASHINGTON DC 20002

DISBURSEMENT FOR:

NAME, ADDRESS, CITY, STATE, ZIP
NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE
COMMITTEE

PURPOSE OF DISBURSEMENT
CONTRIBUTION

10/20/92 10000.00

1419 7TH ST. NW, SUITE 500
WASHINGTON DC 20004

DISBURSEMENT FOR:

NAME, ADDRESS, CITY, STATE, ZIP
AMERICAN DEFENSE FOUNDATION

PURPOSE OF DISBURSEMENT
CONTRIBUTION

11/10/92 30000.00

13055 NORTH FAIRFAX STREET
ALEXANDRIA VA 22314

DISBURSEMENT FOR:

NAME, ADDRESS, CITY, STATE, ZIP
NATIONAL REPUBLICAN SENATORIAL COMMITTEE

PURPOSE OF DISBURSEMENT
CONTRIBUTION

11/11/92 40000.00

1717 SECOND STREET NE
WASHINGTON DC 20002

DISBURSEMENT FOR:

NAME, ADDRESS, CITY, STATE, ZIP
PM CONSULTING CORPORATION

PURPOSE OF DISBURSEMENT
PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

11/11/92 10000.00

13050 K STREET NW, #104
WASHINGTON DC 20007

DISBURSEMENT FOR:

NAME, ADDRESS, CITY, STATE, ZIP
NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE
COMMITTEE

PURPOSE OF DISBURSEMENT
CONTRIBUTION

11/17/92 45000.00

1419 7TH ST NW, SUITE 500
WASHINGTON DC 20004

DISBURSEMENT FOR:

NAME, ADDRESS, CITY, STATE, ZIP
GOOD GOVERNMENT COMMITTEE

PURPOSE OF DISBURSEMENT
CONTRIBUTION

11/18/92 7000.00

1103 NORTH PERRY STREET
MONTGOMERY AL 36101

DISBURSEMENT FOR:

SUBTOTAL OF DISBURSEMENTS THIS PAGE (optional)

157,000.00

TOTAL THIS PERIOD (last page this line number only)

157,000.00

6400" 26" 40" 00

EXHIBIT 3

REPORT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

For Other Than An Authorized Committee
(Summary Page)

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION
COMMISSION
MAIN COPY ROOM

USE FEC BALLOT LABEL
TYPE ON FRONT

1. NAME OF COMMITTEE (or title)
**NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE POLITICAL ACTION
COMMITTEE**
ADDRESS (Number and street) Check if different than previously reported
419 7TH ST. NW, SUITE 500
CITY, STATE and ZIP CODE
WASHINGTON DC 20004

2. FEC IDENTIFICATION NUMBER

C0111278

3. This committee qualified as a multicandidate committee DURING THIS Reporting Period on (Date).

4. TYPE OF REPORT

(a) ☐ April 15 Quarterly Report

☐ July 15 Quarterly Report

☐ October 15 Quarterly Report

☐ January 31 Year End Report

☐ July 31 Mid Year Report (Non-election Year Only)

☐ Termination Report

Monthly Report Due On:

February 20	June 20	October 20
March 20	July 20	November 20
April 20	August 20	December 20
May 20	September 20	January 21

Twelfth day report preceding

(Type of Election)

election on _____ in the State of _____

X Thirtieth day report following the General Election on

11/3/92 in the State of U.S.

(b) Is this Report an Amendment? YES ☐ NO ☒

SUMMARY

	COLUMN A This Period	COLUMN B Calendar Year-to-Date
5. Covering Period <u>10/15/92</u> through <u>11/23/92</u>		
6. (a) Cash on Hand January 1, 1992		\$ 33,863.46
(b) Cash on Hand at Beginning of Reporting Period	\$ 827,379.13	
(c) Total Receipts (from Line 19)	\$ 501,432.75	\$ 2,031,702.12
(d) Subtotal (add Lines 6(b) and 6(c) for Column A and Lines 6(a) and 6(c) for Column B)	\$ 1,328,811.88	\$ 2,065,565.58
7. Total Disbursements (from Line 30)	\$ 1,174,089.27	\$ 1,910,842.97
8. Cash on Hand at Close of Reporting Period (subtract Line 7 from Line 6(d))	\$ 154,722.61	\$ 154,722.61
9. Debts and Obligations Owed TO the Committee (Itemize all on Schedule C and/or Schedule D)	\$ 0	0
10. Debts and Obligations Owed BY the Committee (Itemize all on Schedule C and/or Schedule D)	\$ 0	0

I certify that I have examined this Report and to the best of my knowledge and belief it is true, correct and complete.

Type or Print Name of Treasurer
AMARIE C. NATIVIDAD

Signature of Treasurer

Amarie C. Natividad

Date

12/3/92

NOTE: Submission of false, erroneous, or incomplete information may subject the person signing this Report to the penalties of 2 U.S.C. §437g

FEC FORM 3X

(Revised 1/1/91)

DETAILED SUMMARY PAGE

OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

PAGE 2, FEC FORM 2X

NAME OF COMMITTEE NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE POLITICAL ACTION COMM.		REPORT COVERING PERIOD FROM 10/15/92 TO 11/23/92	
		COLUMN A Total This Period	COLUMN B Coloate: %
I. Receipts			
11. Contributions (other than loans) From:			
a. Individual/Persons Other Than Political Committees			
1. Itemized (see Schedule A)		80,104.55	674.4
b. Unitemized		421,328.20	1,553.7
c. Total (Add 1 and 2) >		501,432.75	2,028.2
b. Political Party Committees			
c. Other Political Committees (such as PACs)			
d. Total Contributions (Add a, b and c) >		501,432.75	2,028.3
12. Transfers From Affiliated Other Party Committees			
13. All Loans Received			
14. Loan Repayments Received			
15. Offsets To Operating Expenditures (Refunds, Rebates, etc.)			
16. Refunds of Contributions Made to Federal Candidates and Other Political Committees			
17. Other Federal Receipts (Dividends, Interest, etc.)			3.32
18. Transfers from Nonfederal Account for Joint Activity			
19. Total Receipts (Add 11a, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, and 18) >		501,432.75	2,031.70
20. Total Federal Receipts (Subtract line 16 from line 19) >		501,432.75	2,031.70
II. Disbursements			
21. Operating Expenditures:			
a. Shared Federal/Non-Federal Activity (from Schedule M)			12
1. Federal Share			
2. Non-Federal Share			
b. Other Federal Operating Expenditures		0.753.84	15.64
c. Total Operating Expenditures (Add a, b, and 21c) >		0.753.84	15.77
22. Transfers to Affiliated Other Party Committees			
23. Contributions to Federal Candidates/Committees and Other Political Committees		53,400.00	272.04
24. Independent Expenditures (see Schedule E)		1,109,935.43	1,576.2
25. Coordinated Expenditures Made by Party Committees (2 U.S.C. 441a(d)) (see Schedule F)			
26. Loan Repayments Made			25.00
27. Loans Made			
28. Refunds of Contributions To:			
a. Individual/Persons Other Than Political Committees			18.61
b. Political Party Committees			
c. Other Political Committees (such as PACs)			
d. Total Contribution Refunds (Add a, b and c) >			18.61
29. Other Disbursements			
30. Total Disbursements (Add 21c, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28d, and 29) >		1,174,089.27	4,910.84
31. Total Federal Disbursements (Subtract line 21 a from line 30) >		1,174,089.27	4,910.84
III. Net Contributions/Operating Expenditures			
32. Total Contributions (other than loans) (from line 11d)		501,432.75	2,028.3
33. Total Contribution Refunds (from line 28d)			18.61
34. Net Contributions (other than loans) (Subtract line 33 from line 32)		501,432.75	2,009.70
35. Total Federal Operating Expenditures (Add 21 c and 21 b) >		0.753.84	15.77
36. Offsets to Operating Expenditures (from line 15)			
37. Net Operating Expenditures (Subtract line 36 from line 35) >		0.753.84	15.77

11/24/92

Page 96 of 104
LINE NUMBER 27

SCHEDULE E

ITEMIZED INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES

Committee: National Right to Life Political Action Committee

Donor, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement	Date	Am't of Each Disb	Run/Off
WABC 124 North 2nd Air Evens GA 30609	Ind. AD-WABC	10/29/92	670.00	
	Disbursement for: General			Support
WABC 620 Dobbin Hill Rd. Athens GA 30601	Ind. AD-	10/29/92	400.00	
	Disbursement for: General			Support
Hardie Press 5017 Boone Avenue N Edinboro PA 16741	Ind. Printing Shipping-Magazines	10/20/92	775.97	
	Disbursement for: General			Support
Robert Eckstein & Associates 2232 Cedarwood Ct. Woodbury GA 30125	Ind. Artwork-Magazines	10/20/92	199.00	
	Disbursement for: General			Support
SI Services 655 S. Barnard Lane Rockville MD 20850	Ind. Printing-Magazines	10/20/92	242.00	
	Disbursement for: General			Support
WABC 1327 Warren Williams Rd. Columbus GA 31906	Ind. AD-Coverdell	11/17/92	1,000.00	
	Disbursement for: Run-off			Support
WABC P.O. Box 2487 Albany GA 31705	Ind. AD-Coverdell	11/17/92	350.00	
	Disbursement for: Run-off			Support
GRAND TOTAL of Disbursements This Page			33,875.03	

Under penalty of perjury I certify that the independent expenditures reported herein were not made in cooperation, consultation, concert with, or at the request or suggestion of any candidate or any authorized committee or agent of such candidate or authorized committee. Furthermore, these expenditures did not involve the financing of dissemination, distribution, or reproduction in whole or part of any campaign materials prepared by the candidate, his campaign committee, or their agent.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this

day of _____, 19__

My commission expires _____

Signature

Date

NOTARY PUBLIC

11/14/92

Page 22 of 24
LINE 2222 22

SCHEDULE B

ITEMIZED INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES

.....

Committee: National Right to Life Political Action Committee

.....

Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement	Date	Cost of Each Disb	Support
WFD Radio Highway 730 Scenic Highway Manchester GA 31216	Ind. AD-Coverdell	11/17/92	430.00	
.....	Disbursement for: Run-off	.....	.....	Support
WISN P.O. Box 876 Seymour GA 31460	Ind. AD-Coverdell	11/17/92	275.00	
.....	Disbursement for: Run-off	.....	.....	Support
WMAZ P.O. Box 3088 Rosen GA 31213	Ind. AD-Coverdell	11/17/92	342.50	
.....	Disbursement for: Run-off	.....	.....	Support
WISN 650 Bobbin Mill Rd. Athens GA 30601	Ind. AD-Coverdell	11/17/92	530.00	
.....	Disbursement for: Run-off	.....	.....	Support
WISN Radio 2070 Peachtree Rd. Suite 970 Atlanta GA 30305	Ind. AD-Coverdell	11/17/92	1,250.00	
.....	Disbursement for: Run-off	.....	.....	Support
WISN Radio 550 Pharr Road Atlanta GA 30343	Ind. AD-Coverdell	11/17/92	900.00	
.....	Disbursement for: Run-off	.....	.....	Support
WISN 1105 Colman Avenue Magnolia Square Shopping Ctr. Reno GA 30161	Ind. AD-Coverdell	11/17/92	210.00	
.....	Disbursement for: Run-off	.....	.....	Support
TOTAL of Disbursements This Page			64,357.50	

Under penalty of perjury I certify that the independent expenditures reported herein were not made in cooperation, consultation, concert with, or at the request or suggestion of any candidate or any authorized committee or agent of such candidate or authorized committee. Furthermore, these expenditures did not involve the financing of dissemination, distribution, or reproduction in whole or part of any campaign materials prepared by the candidate, his campaign committee, or their agent.

Subscribed and sworn to before on this

day of _____, 19__

My commission expires _____

Signature

Date

NOTARY PUBLIC

11/24/92

Page 61 of 74
(LINE NUMBER 2)

SCHEDULE C

ITEMIZED INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES

Committee: National Right to Life Political Action Committee

Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement	Date	Cost of Each Disb	Support
US10 62 W. Alton Rd. Brazos CA 39161-4100	Ind. AD-Coverdell	11/17/92	425.00	
	Disbursement for: Run-off			Support
US12 P.O. Box 1224 Solon CA 38722	Ind. AD-Coverdell	11/18/92	142.00	
	Disbursement for: Run-off			Support
US13 P.O. Box 1327 Valdosta GA 31601	Ind. AD-Coverdell	11/18/92	144.00	
	Disbursement for: Run-off			Support
US15 625 Franklin Rd. Lafayette GA 30340	Ind. AD-Coverdell	11/18/92	125.00	
	Disbursement for: Run-off			Support
US16 P.O. Box 1319 Gainesville GA 30503	Ind. AD-Coverdell	11/18/92	234.00	
	Disbursement for: Run-off			Support
US18 552 Leroy Walker Rd. Augusta GA 30901	Ind. AD-Coverdell	11/18/92	195.00	
	Disbursement for: Run-off			Support
US19 P.O. Box 619 Blackshear GA 31516	Ind. AD-Coverdell	11/18/92	150.00	
	Disbursement for: Run-off			Support
SUBTOTAL of Disbursements This Page			61,417.25	

Under penalty of perjury I certify that the independent expenditures reported herein were not made in cooperation, consultation, concert with, or at the request or suggestion of any candidate or any authorized committee or agent of such candidate or authorized committee. Furthermore, these expenditures did not involve the financing of dissemination, distribution, or reproduction in whole or part of any campaign materials prepared by the candidate, his campaign committee, or their agent.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this

day of _____, 19__

My commission expires _____

Signature

Date

NOTARY PUBLIC

11/24/92

Page 62 of 16

LINE NUMBER 2

SCHEDULE C

ITEMIZED INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES

Committee: National Right to Life Political Action Committee

Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement	Date	Amount of Each Disb	Cap/Ch
W119 P.O. Box 668 Vifton GA 31793	Ind. AD-Coverdell	11/18/92	136.00	
	Disbursement for: Run-off			Support
W12C 124 North 8th Ave Evans GA 30809	Ind. AD-Coverdell	11/18/92	270.00	
	Disbursement for: Run-off			Support
W116 117 Marine Drive St. Simons Island GA 31522	Ind. AD-Coverdell	11/15/92	216.00	
	Disbursement for: Run-off			Support
W12K P.O. Box 2467 Albany GA 31703	Ind. AD-Coverdell	11/18/92	1,125.00	
	Disbursement for: Run-off			Support
W12K P.O. Box 1546 Dunn GA 30142	Ind. AD-Coverdell	11/19/92	300.00	
	Disbursement for: Run-off			Support
W12P Highway 3 Thomasville GA 31792	Ind. AD-Coverdell	11/19/92	255.00	
	Disbursement for: Run-off			Support
W12L Radio 2004 N. Jefferson Albany GA 31702	Ind. AD-Coverdell	11/19/92	255.00	
	Disbursement for: Run-off			Support
SUBTOTAL of Disbursements This Page			22,557.00	

Under penalty of perjury I certify that the independent expenditures reported herein were not made in cooperation, consultation, concert with, or at the request or suggestion of any candidate or any authorized committee or agent of such candidate or authorized committee. Furthermore, these expenditures did not involve the financing of dissemination, distribution, or reproduction in whole or part of any campaign materials prepared by the candidate, his campaign committee, or their agent.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this

day of _____, 19__

By commission expires _____

Signature

Date

NOTARY PUBLIC

11/24/92

Page 48 of 49
LINE NUMBER 2.

SCHEDULE E

ITEMIZED INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES

Committee: National Right to Life Political Action Committee

Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement	Date	Amount of Each Disbursement	Support
2245 7315 Albermarle St. Raleigh GA 27601	Ind. AD-Coverdell	11/19/92	250.00	
	Disbursement for: Run-off			Support
6771 342 Beck Drive Randy Pass GA 30749	Ind. AD-Coverdell	11/19/92	137.50	
	Disbursement for: Run-off			Support
155C 1449 Northside Drive SW Atlanta GA 30318	Ind. AD-Coverdell	11/19/92	200.00	
	Disbursement for: Run-off			Support
Jls Murphy UPLA 705 4th Avenue West Point GA 30253	Ind. AD-Coverdell	11/19/92	200.00	
	Disbursement for: Run-off			Support
1001 P.O. Box 615 Gimcoville GA 31313	Ind. AD-Coverdell	11/19/92	175.00	
	Disbursement for: Run-off			Support
6017 1250 W. 4th Street Adel GA 31420	Ind. AD-Coverdell	11/19/92	112.50	
	Disbursement for: Run-off			Support
6021 500 Elk Memorial Drive Waycross GA 31583	Ind. AD-Coverdell	11/19/92	150.00	
	Disbursement for: Run-off			Support
TOTAL of Disbursements This Page			81,405.00	

Under penalty of perjury I certify that the independent expenditures reported herein were not made in cooperation, consultation, concert with, or at the request or suggestion of any candidate or any authorized committee or agent of such candidate or authorized committee. Furthermore, these expenditures did not involve the financing of dissemination, distribution, or reproduction in whole or part of any campaign materials prepared by the candidate, his campaign committee, or their agent.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this

____ day of _____, 19__

My commission expires _____

Signature

Date

NOTARY PUBLIC

11/24/92

Page 26 of 926
LINE NUMBER 22

SCHEDULE B

ITEMIZED INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES

Committee: National Right to Life Political Action Committee

Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement	Date	Am. of Each Disb.	Sub/Type
4200 P.O. Box 46 Riverside CA 92506	Ind. Ad-Coverdall	11/19/92	3,400.00	
	Disbursement for: Bur-off			Support
4200 3001 Pio Maro Avenue Riverside CA 92506	Ind. Ad-Coverdall	11/19/92	962.50	
	Disbursement for: Bur-off			Support
Bardic Press 5817 Sarno Avenue N New Hope PA	Ind. Shipping-Bundle	10/15/92	120.00	
	Disbursement for: General			Support
Bardic Press 5817 Sarno Avenue N New Hope PA	Ind. Printing-Bundle	10/15/92	377.24	
	Disbursement for: General			Support
Postmaster 1208 Pennsylvania Avenue Washington DC 20004	Ind. Postage-Bundle	10/15/92	66.82	
	Disbursement for: General			Support
Carol Long National Right to Life 619 7th Street, NW Suite 500 Washington, DC 20004	Ind. Payroll	10/15/92	50.50	
	Disbursement for: General			Support
Postmaster 930 Brentwood Rd., NE Washington DC 20000	Ind. Postage-Bundle	10/25/92	754.72	
	Disbursement for: General			Support
SUBTOTAL of Disbursements This Page			55,400.58	

Under penalty of perjury I certify that the independent expenditures reported herein were not made in cooperation, consultation, concert with, or at the request or suggestion of any candidate or any authorized committee or agent of such candidate or authorized committee. Furthermore, these expenditures did not involve the financing of dissemination, distribution, or reproduction in whole or part of any campaign materials prepared by the candidate, his campaign committee, or their agent.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this

____ day of _____, 19__

My commission expires _____

Signature

Date

NOTARY PUBLIC

LEVEL 1 - 3 OF 4 STORIES

Copyright 1992 Levitt Communications, Inc.
Roll Call

<November> 23, 1992

LENGTH: 2480 words

HEADLINE: Georgia Senate Nail-Biter Voters Pick <Coverdell> or Fowler Tuesday; Clinton Campaigns Today

BYLINE: By Tim Curran

BODY:

ATLANTA - Headed to the finish of their unprecedented Senate runoff tomorrow, Democratic Sen. Wyche Fowler and Republican challenger Paul <Coverdell> are running every bit as close as they were on Election Day three weeks ago - if not closer.

Polls show Fowler with a tiny lead, similar to the one he ended up with on Nov. 3, when he edged <Coverdell> by 1.4 percentage points and missed an outright victory by nine-tenths of a point.

On the line is the Democrats' one-seat gain in the Senate, with Republicans fighting desperately for a 43rd vote that will help them defeat cloture attempts on key legislation.

With so much at stake here, the combatants have abandoned even the veneer of civility in the contest. At a debate taped Thursday, for example, they barely managed to shake hands. The debate itself descended into name-calling.

The national importance of the race to both parties became abundantly clear Friday when it was finally confirmed that President-elect Bill Clinton would make a last-minute visit Monday on Fowler's behalf, risking at least a small portion of his post-election momentum.

Fowler, the favorite during the general campaign, led in the Nov. 3 vote but was held below 50 percent when a Libertarian candidate took 3 percent to force a runoff in the only state that calls for one after the general if no candidate receives a majority.

A Friday Mason-Dixon Research survey for the Chattanooga (Tenn.) Times and Thompson newspapers - expected to be the only public polling data available in this unique contest - reinforced what observers already suspected. It gave Fowler an unsteady 50 to 44 percent lead, which shrank to 48 to 47 percent among those considered most likely to come to the polls.

Turnout will be the key, with experts predicting that fewer than half the voters on Nov. 3 will cast ballots again on Nov. 24.

"Fowler has to turn out the black vote. It's that simple," Del Ali of Mason-Dixon said Friday. Both parties say they have undertaken aggressive absentee ballot campaigns, which make the race even harder to judge.

On Thursday, Fowler and <Coverdell> met in what was to be their second-to-last joint appearance of the long campaign, a taped debate for WAGA television in Atlanta. They kept themselves in check through the early stages, spelling out differences on job creation, health care, and abortion, exchanging mild barbs and calling into question each other's assertions.

But before it was over, Fowler had accused his Republican challenger, the former director of the Peace Corps, of telling a "baldfaced lie" and sending "paid investigators to open up the records of my divorce," while an angry <Coverdell> said after the debate that the incumbent's tactics were "divisive and vicious" and the Democrat's behavior in the campaign was "without honor."

Their fight to represent Georgia in the Senate for the next six years has taken on the strategic cast of a chess match - but with all the tactical subtlety of a main event in professional wrestling.

Frank Greer, a chief consultant to both Clinton and Fowler, buttonholed reporters at the debate to challenge <Coverdell's> assertions that Fowler "bounced" checks at the House Bank during his decade in the chamber, a charge the Senator has vigorously denied.

Greer said the oft-recited quote from a deposition that Fowler gave in the 1970s - "thankfully, we have a bank that doesn't zap me when I bounce a check" - was nothing more than a statement on the now-defunct Bank's procedures, and that Fowler's records, which he allowed the press to examine, showed no overdrafts.

Meanwhile, Fowler aides also distributed copies of agreement forms for political broadcasters which showed the National Republican Senatorial Committee

had spent at least \$63,000 on media for the <Coverdell> campaign in the runoff after maxing out on coordinated expenditures in the general, while an FEC decision was pending on whether such expenditures were legal. (The FCC ended up deadlocked on the matter and it will be resolved after the election.)

The visit from Clinton, who carried the state by the narrowest of margins, is an effort to tip the delicate balance of the race. <Coverdell> strategists said they toyed with, but abandoned, the idea of asking President Bush to come to the state in a plea for GOP voters to deliver him one final victory before he leaves office. Instead, First Lady Barbara Bush, who polls show is more popular than the President, campaigned for <Coverdell> on Friday.

In the state today in addition to Clinton will be Democratic Sens. Bob Kerrey (Neb), Bob Graham (Fla), and Howell Heflin (Ala), who will be touring agricultural regions for the incumbent. Vice President-elect Al Gore and former President Jimmy Carter were here for Fowler last week.

"I think it will have no more impact than it did Nov. 3," <Coverdell> said Thursday of Clinton's planned appearance at a get-out-the-vote rally.

Both candidates, with an infusion of help from national party strategists and big money, have spent the last week carefully controlling their message. In event after event, the same themes are echoed.

Perhaps the most intriguing struggle is over which candidate can prove he is ideologically closer to Georgia's senior Senator, Sam Nunn. The popularity of the Armed Services chairman is so great that, in a state that has trended increasingly Republican, he ran without GOP opposition in 1990.

In Thursday's debate, <Coverdell> sought to expose what Republicans see as Fowler's potential vulnerability on the issue of allowing homosexuals to serve in the military.

When asked about the proposal, Fowler said he, like Nunn, supported Clinton in his determination to allow gays to serve, but said that, like Nunn, he favors a "go-slow" approach. <Coverdell> said that, "like Sen. Nunn," he opposed allowing homosexuals to serve in the armed forces.

In fact, on "Meet the Press" on Nov. 16, Nunn said, "I agree with present policy (i.e., a ban on gays). I think we should proceed very cautiously." He added, "I would like to hear a lot more evidence before the ban is lifted."

In a press conference on Congressional reform Thursday morning, where <Coverdell> was joined by the leaders of a half dozen reform groups, the Republican criticized Fowler's record on taxes and spending, but pointed out that Nunn's record on the issues was quite different. For Fowler's part, at every turn he has mentioned that "Sen. Nunn and I" plan to work closely with the Clinton-Gore Administration.

A television ad with Nunn endorsing Fowler began running Thursday night, and Nunn has even appealed to Georgians to re-elect Fowler to retain the state's voice on the Appropriations Committee when it deals with the 1996 Olympics in Atlanta.

But the GOP knows it needs to pry only a few votes from Fowler - or hope a few Fowler voters stay home - to take the seat. <Coverdell> and his Republican surrogates have focused their message on the charge that Fowler is a slick-talking politician who tells people what they want to hear in Georgia, but votes with and takes "advice from George Mitchell and Ted Kennedy" in Washington.

While Fowler argues that he will work in partnership with the Administration, Republicans counter that Georgians should elect <Coverdell> as an insurance policy, a bulwark against a potential runaway Clinton presidency.

This theme - of a Democratic executive and legislative branch working in lockstep and generating an avalanche of liberal laws - could strike fear in the hearts of Georgia moderates and conservatives. It is a theme that President Bush could not raise during his campaign, for fear of appearing to concede the House and Senate to the Democrats.

But <Coverdell> makes the argument that he and 42 other Senate Republicans may be all that stand in the way of DC statehood, massive tax increases, and deep cuts in defense.

<Coverdell> Thursday tried to reinforce his hold on the mantle of change in this unusual election, joining a lawsuit to block automatic cost-of-living adjustments for Members of Congress under the Madison, or 27th, Amendment to the Constitution, which passed only in May after its introduction more than 200 years ago, and touting his support for term limits and the "Lead or Leave" pledge, which mandates that Members not seek re-election if the deficit has not been halved by 1996.

When a reporter asked if it wasn't a little irrational to place his political future in large part in the hands of the Democratic leadership on that pledge, <Coverdell> shot back: "If we don't get the deficit down, you're going to have to come home to save your own business."

He added: "We want people who voted for Clinton for change, we want people who voted for Bush because of his strength and integrity, and we want people who voted for Ross Perot as a vehicle for change."

The problems of Washington "are not partisan," he said. "I expect to be something of a maverick within my own party." Thursday also saw <Coverdell> surpass the \$1 million dollar mark in fundraising since the general election.

<Coverdell> is a true footsoldier of the long Republican march to two-party competitiveness in the South. He served in the Georgia state Senate with only a handful of Republicans in that body, and his service was eventually rewarded by President Bush with an appointment to head the Peace Corps.

<Coverdell's> speaking style, compared not unjustly to comedian Dana Carvey's impersonation of Bush, has, like his entire candidacy, come a long way, and he conveys sincerity, and now genuine anger, in his attacks on Fowler.

The challenger was particularly enraged by a Georgia Democratic party mailing that says <Coverdell> has worked to purge black voters from registration rolls - a mailing about which Fowler has denied all knowledge. <Coverdell> is also angry at attacks on the dealings of his insurance business. "It strikes me they have nothing else to talk about," he said.

Although moderate on many issues, including abortion (he supports the right of a woman to end a pregnancy but he opposes the Freedom of Choice Act, which would enshrine Roe v. Wade into federal law), <Coverdell> has received strong backing from groups across the GOP spectrum.

National <Right to Life> has even undertaken a radio campaign on <Coverdell's> behalf, leading Fowler to say the Republican is "trying to have it both ways" on the issue. <Coverdell> is also traveling the state in the same bus Pat Buchanan used in his presidential campaign here.

Fowler, for his part, appears downright contrite in his appeal for votes. "I want to thank you all for risking your fine reputations on my behalf," he told a crowd of Democratic party faithful gathered at the Forest Park Farmer's Market Thursday night in Clayton County, the only county in the "doughnut" of conservative suburban counties surrounding Atlanta that Fowler carried in the general.

He reminded the crowd that he "put my own term limits on" when he left a safe Atlanta House seat to challenge and beat Sen. Mack Mattingly (R) in 1986. "I was tired of those candidates and campaigns that sought to divide our people" along economic, social, "and even racial lines," he said.

"I'd much rather be somewhere with a fishing pole," than in a runoff, "But we have the opportunity again to shine in Georgia," Fowler told the friendly assemblage, speaking of the boost the race could provide to Clinton's election.

He asked, "Are we going to be part of that change or will we, simply by our apathy, elect a man who still today is talking trickle-down," and will be an obstructionist in Washington?

"Every single person in this room knows how to turn one vote into five," he said, encouraging his backers to bring friends and neighbors to the polls, where there will be "no lines, won't take 30 seconds to vote."

One of those at the Fowler gathering was state Agriculture Commissioner Tommy Irvin, who managed the gubernatorial campaign of Democrat Lester Maddox in 1966. Maddox, a segregationist, lost narrowly in the popular vote but won in the legislature after neither candidate won more than 48 percent - then the standard for victory in the general.

Irvin, then a state legislator, was among those who voted for the sweeping package of reforms that included the runoff provision. "Now I'm not sure it was such a smart move," Irvin said in one of the campaign's great understatements.

<November> 26, 1992, Thursday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section A; Page 20; Column 1; National Desk

LENGTH: 1255 words

HEADLINE: Republicans Taking Heart From Senate-Runoff Victory in Georgia

BYLINE: By RONALD SMOTHERS, Special to The New York Times

DATELINE: ATLANTA, Nov. 25

BODY:

Republicans today hailed the victory of Paul D. <Coverdell> over Senator Wyche Fowler Jr. in Tuesday's runoff as a rebuke to President-elect Bill Clinton, who campaigned for the incumbent, and an admonition to Mr. Clinton to temper some of his plans.

But Democrats scoffed at reading such sweeping conclusions into the narrow victory by Mr. <Coverdell>, a former Peace Corps director in the Bush Administration. They suggested that the Republicans, hungry for some good news after the defeat of President Bush, were grabbing at straws, trying to build some fighting spirit before the Clinton Administration takes over.

In assessing his victory, Mr. <Coverdell> himself wound up squarely between the Republican cheerleaders and the Democratic scoffers.

At a news conference, he was asked how the runoff compared with the Nov. 3 results, in which Mr. Clinton defeated Mr. Bush by about 5,000 votes out of slightly more than two million cast in Georgia. He responded that one was the "natural extension" of the other.

Voters Want Change

"The voters were driven by a need for change," said Mr. <Coverdell> of his 51 percent to 49 percent victory. Mr. Fowler had a 49-to-28 lead in the Nov. 3 ballot. "That was part of President Bush's problem here three weeks ago, and that was part of Senator Fowler's problem as well. Voters wanted change whether they were voting on Nov. 3 or on Nov. 24."

The 58-year-old insurance company owner's 18-month campaign had devoted most of its advertising on highlighting Mr. Fowler's voting record and what it portrayed as the negatives of Mr. Fowler's stands on tax increases, Senate pay raises and opposition to the Persian Gulf war. The ads did not spend much time trying to present Mr. <Coverdell's> positions or even show him or having him speak in campaign ads.

Consequently the campaign became the lightning rod for strong anti-Fowler sentiments in a state where the one-term incumbent was often considered too liberal and too aloof and where even his Democratic supporters had long warned him that he was vulnerable.

In the end Mr. <Coverdell>, who takes the middle ground in the abortion debate, was able to garner support from abortion opponents. He supports a woman's right to choose abortion but opposes any increased availability of abortion. And although he is a frequent opponent of the religious right's efforts to take over the Georgia Republican Party, he nevertheless got their support.

Groups Claim Credit

Today, all sought to take some measure of the credit for his victory.

"<Coverdell> is not the person you would invite to give the keynote address at a <right-to-life> banquet," said Douglas Johnson, legislative director of the National <Right to Life> Committee. "But he came out in opposition to the proposed Freedom of Choice Act, which Wyche Fowler co-sponsored. And that's what's pertinent."

Senator Phil Gramm of Texas, the chairman of the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee was among those who saw the <Coverdell> victory as a blow to Mr. Clinton.

"The entire involvement of Gore and Clinton in coming to the state was to make the argument that the people of Georgia should give them a blank check in Congress," said the Texas Republican who had come here to campaign for Mr.

Handwritten mark: a large bracket followed by an asterisk.

< Coverdell. > "Well, the people of Georgia said no to that blank check."
Senator Bob Dole of Kansas, the minority leader who also campaigned for the challenger, called the outcome "proof that the Republican Party is alive and well".

Republicans See Big Victory

Similarly the Republican chairman in Georgia, Alec Pontevint, said, "This was of national importance because Clinton put his credibility on the line by coming here and he lost."

E. Spencer Abraham, co-chairman of the National Republican Congressional Committee called the Fowler defeat "the first sign that Bill Clinton will have the shortest honeymoon in Presidential history".

Democrats, on the other hand, said the outcome of the runoff would have little negative effect on the incoming Clinton Administration. The victory gives the Republicans the same number of Senators, 44, that they had going into Election Day.

James Carville, the political consultant who directed the Clinton campaign, said Mr. Clinton had shown courage in his willingness to expend political capital on behalf of a struggling Democratic incumbent, a sentiment expressed by Mr. Fowler himself in his concession speech late Tuesday.

"I don't think that this is any type of message about Bill Clinton," said Mr. Clinton's spokeswoman, Max Parker.

'Slim Reed' for the G.O.P.

Alan Secrest, a Democratic poll taker based in Washington who worked for Mr. Fowler, also scoffed at any suggestion that Mr. Clinton's standing would be hurt.

"It's a pathetic and slim reed for the Republicans to lean on," he said.

"Bill Clinton wasn't able to carry the day for Wyche Fowler, but there is very little indication that Republican surrogates such as Phil Gramm and Bob Dole had any impact on < Coverdell's > win either."

The runoff made history in Georgia as the first under the state's 28-year-old law requiring candidates in statewide elections to get a majority of the vote.

Historians say the law, passed in the 1960's, was intended to keep newly enfranchised blacks from winning county and state offices.

Both Mr. Fowler and Mr. < Coverdell > were denied a majority in the Nov. 3 voting because the Libertarian Party candidate, Jim Hudson, got 3 percent of the vote. Under the law, the two top vote getters had to face each other in a runoff. Other states have such a majority vote requirement in party primaries or for county and municipal posts, but no others have such a requirement for statewide office.

Slim Margins Both Times

On Nov. 3, just over 30,000 votes out of more than two million cast separated the candidates. This time the margin narrowed to about 16,000 votes among 1.2 million cast. The turnout in the general election was 72 percent, compared with 38 percent in the runoff. Experts expected the turnout in runoff to be even lower.

In a brief telephone conversation this morning, President Bush congratulated Mr. < Coverdell. > The two have known each other since 1980, when Mr. < Coverdell > headed the Georgia campaign for Mr. Bush's unsuccessful run for the Republican Presidential nomination.

"I was using a lot of lessons in my campaign that I picked up from a pretty good boss," Mr. < Coverdell > said to the President.

Later in the news conference Mr. < Coverdell > avoided a combative and partisan stand and said it remained to be seen how cooperative he would be with a Clinton Administration. A former state legislator for 19 years who served as state Senate minority leader, Mr. < Coverdell > noted that he had some experience in working as a Republican alongside Democratic administrations.

"But tax cuts are needed and if President Clinton is so driven by his party that he raises taxes more, he will have an adversary in me," Mr. < Coverdell > said.

Democrats criticized the negative style of the < Coverdell > campaign -- a style that Mr. Fowler acknowledged, saying he had adopted it in self-defense. Ed Simms, chairman of the Democratic Party, said the < Coverdell > campaign was unique in that 100 percent of its advertising was negative advertising, and that

Memorandum

TO: Peter Lindstrom

FR: Dennis Yedwab

DA: 4/13/93

RE: GA. Right To Life mailing

During the General Election Run-off for the U.S. Senate seat from Georgia, mailing from Georgia Right to Life came across my desk. It was a two-sided mailer with one of the sides being the text of a political memo about the race that whose author was listed as being from National Right to Life. The memo described the political situation in Georgia and concentrated on opposing Wyche Fowler because he supported the Freedom of Choice Act. An unimportant but defining mark of this memo is that it misspelled Paul Covardall's name, writing it as "Coverdale". I do not recall much more about this other than I think it had a return card attached.

Dennis Yedwab was the Researcher for Fowler for Senate,
now with Cooper & Secrest, 703-683-7990

20040413070000

EXHIBIT 4

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CNN Transcripts, July 30, 1992

NOVAK: But isn't Mike correct, though, he doesn't have to do anything to get your support? The people who are in Congress, you guys will support him for any reason.

Rep. GINGRICH: Unless the Democrats want to nominate Tsongas. I think most conservatives-

KINSLEY: Oh, you would have supported Paul Tsongas? Right.

Mr. <WEYRICH:> I think that if conservatives thought that this administration were really serious, for example, about the G.I. bill for kids-we don't think they're serious-I think if we thought they were really serious that there would be more interest and support in the administration. The administration pays lip service to a lot of our issues, but the commitment is lacking, and I think they have to show commitment before you'll find people in the grassroots taking an interest in them.

KINSLEY: All right. We're out of time. Thank you, Paul <Weyrich.> Thank you, Newt Gingrich. Bob and I will be back in a second. I don't know what in the heck I'm going to say, but we'll come up with something.

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CNN Transcripts, July 30, 1992

[Commercial break]

KINSLEY: Well, Bob, I wish I could be as pessimistic for Bush's chances as all you conservatives seems to be. Seems to me, he's going to run a very aggressive, dirty campaign, something he's very good at. He's got a whole week coming at Houston, where he can dominate the agenda and frame his image in any way he wants. I think he's still got a good shot. In fact, I'd still bet on him.

NOVAK: Well, you know, I'll tell you something, if his greatest supporter in America is Mike Kinsley, he's really in a lot of trouble.

KINSLEY: I didn't say I'd support him.

NOVAK: You see, what you don't understand that he has lost is the mandate of heaven, which is an Oriental concept, and the idea that he was the successor to Ronald Reagan, who was supporting the programs of Reagan and the whole concept of Reagan, and in fact, they have done nothing but dump on Reagan for the last four years. That's the problem right now, and not all politicians are as compliant and quiescent as Mr. Gingrich.

KINSLEY: I think this is a case of Reagan's chickens coming home to roost. I

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LEVEL 2 - 43 OF 55 STORIES

Copyright 1992 The Washington Post
The Washington Post

<July> 29, 1992, Wednesday, Final Edition



LENGTH: 1232 words

HEADLINE: As Bush's Problems Persist, Conservatives Not Rallying to His Side

SERIES: Occasional

BYLINE: E. J. Dionne Jr., Washington Post Staff Writer

BODY:

For most of his term in office, President Bush has had a complicated relationship with the conservative movement. Now that Bush is in trouble, conservatives decidedly are not rushing to his aid.

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The Washington Post, July 29, 1992

Instead, they are treating Bush's crisis much as liberals treated President Jimmy Carter's travails in 1980: as an opportunity to say, "I told you so," and a chance to push Bush toward ideological purity.

Economic conservatives are saying Bush should embrace low taxes and a Reagan-style supply-side program. Social conservatives are leery of even a hint of retreat on positions such as opposition to abortion. Across the right, there are mutterings that Bush is in trouble precisely because of his lack of constancy to conservative principle.

Most alarming for the Republicans is conservative talk that the right might be better off if Bush lost to Democratic nominee Bill Clinton -- or chose, even at this late hour, not to run for another term. The idea gaining ground on the right is that a directionless Bush second term might do more damage to the conservative cause than a spell in opposition, which would give the movement a chance to regroup -- intellectually and politically.

"It's a long way to November," said Adam Meyerson, editor of Policy Review, the quarterly magazine of the conservative Heritage Foundation, "but at this point, many conservatives would not be disturbed by a Clinton administration because Clinton seems to have moved the Democratic Party back to the center on

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The Washington Post, July 29, 1992

foreign policy, and because Bush has not yet returned to the Reagan economic policies he ran on in 1988."

Meyerson's view is echoed privately by other conservatives, several of whom said in interviews that they were not certain they would even vote for Bush.

Still other voices on the right suggest that Bush would do well simply not to run again. In a column published in today's Washington Post, conservative commentator and frequent Bush critic George Will urges Bush to step down, arguing that if Bush decided not to seek a new term, "the intellectual claustrophobia of this city and the Republican Party would be instantly dissipated."

Paul <Weyrich> president of the conservative Free Congress Foundation, said that conservative activists who met at his offices early last week expressed an "almost unanimous sentiment that this movement should forget about the presidency and concentrate on <Senate> races and House races and term-limitation initiatives and other things that matter to us."

<Weyrich> said conservatives who unhappy with Bush are feeling freer to lose partly because the end of the Soviet Union means that they have less to
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The Washington Post, July 29, 1992

worry about if the Democrats win. "The activists feared a capitulation to the Soviet Union," he said. "Now you don't have that consideration."

In addition, he said, Clinton and his running mate, Sen. Albert Gore Jr. (Tenn.), have well-honed moderate images. "You are not dealing with George McGovern or Michael Dukakis in this <election," Weyrich> said, adding of Clinton and Gore: "I believe they are liberal, but they are not radical."

Burton Yale Pines, a longstanding Bush critic who heads the National Center for Public Policy Research, a conservative think tank, said that the talk of conservatives being better off without Bush has been the focus of numerous private discussions among conservatives.

"This is a conversation that's been going on nonstop for the last three weeks and it's still a quandary," he said.

Gary Bauer, a former Reagan administration official, thinks conservatives should rally to Bush, but added that many among his allies think a Clinton administration would be a tonic. Bauer said the view he has often heard expressed is that "it'll certainly be easier to gin up the troops if you get a bad guy in the White House." Bauer added that he disagrees with this view.
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The Washington Post, July 29, 1992

Bush's supporters caution that this gloomy assessment reflects a passing despondency that has made this July one of the most miserable months of Bush's political life. Even as he lags behind Clinton in the polls, Bush has defenders on the right, including the Rev. Jerry Falwell and House Minority Whip Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.), who in an interview last week gamely predicted that Bush would win by a landslide.

Most of the right, pro-Bush conservatives say, will fall into line this autumn, when it focuses on the prospect of four years of Democratic rule. William J. Bennett, Bush's former drug control policy director, said in an interview that Clinton's likely judicial appointments would be enough to scare conservatives home.

But even supporters of the president such as Bennett acknowledge that the conservative temptation to lose is dangerous and a sign that Bush's troubles extend to his expected political base. "People are saying that four years of muddling along will wreck the conservatives," Bennett said.

Bennett said his own view was that a Bush loss "might be good for the [conservative] movement but bad for the country." But Bennett has been openly critical of the direction of the Bush campaign. On ABC's "This Week With David
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The Washington Post, July 29, 1992

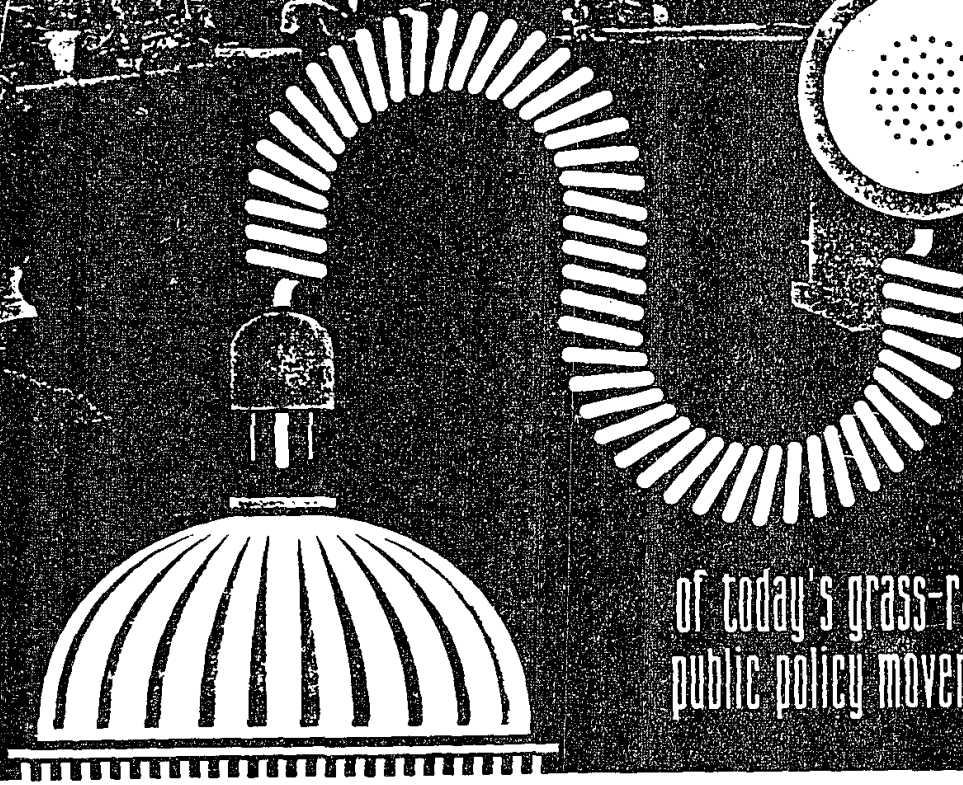
Brinkley" on Sunday, Bennett spoke of the administration's apparent lack of "a governing rationale," a sense of "drift," and a tendency to "lurch from one

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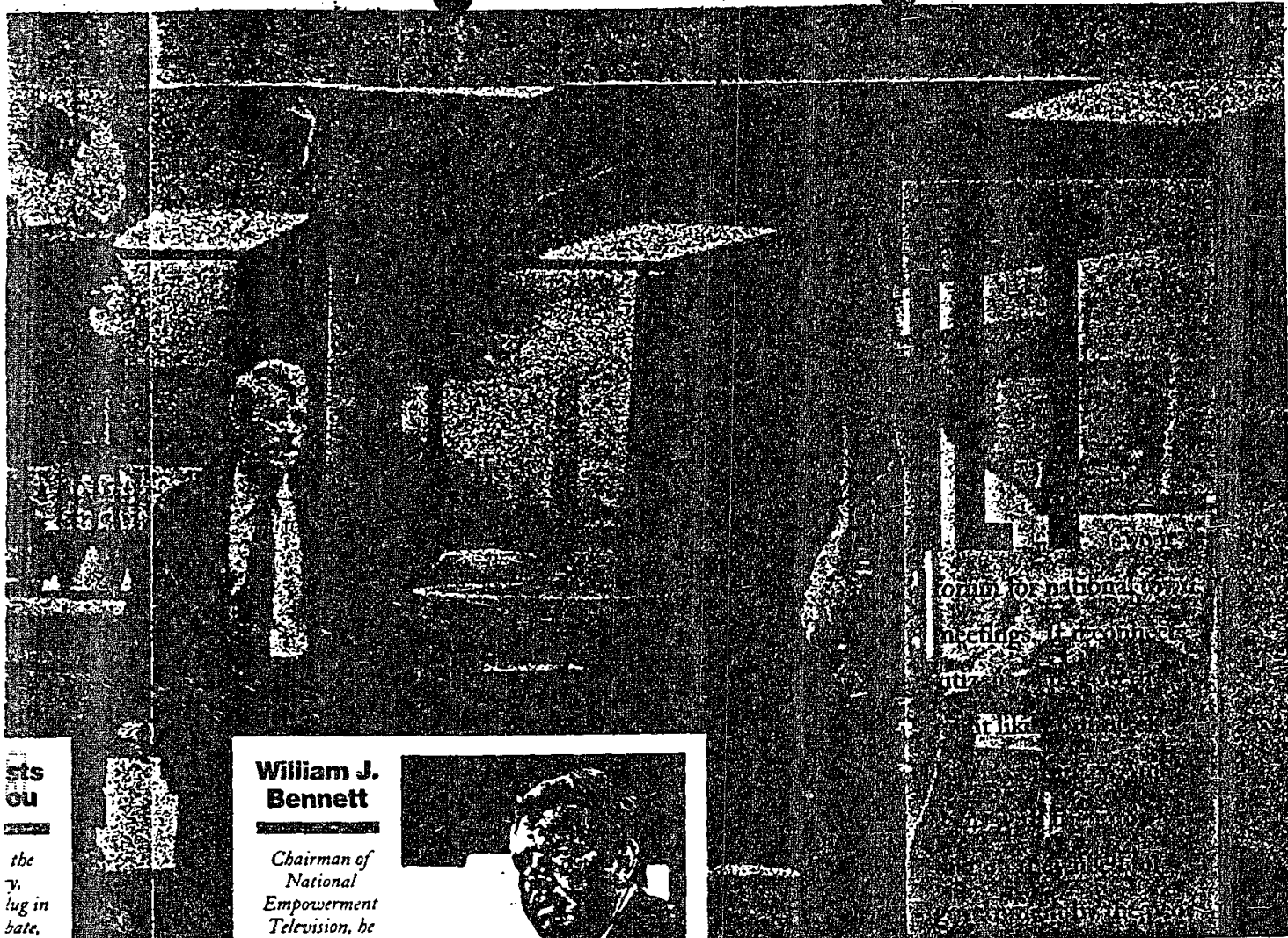
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William J. Bennett

*Chairman of
National
Empowerment
Television, he
brings the
movers and
shakers of
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William J. Bennett

Chairman, National Empowerment Television

NATIONAL EMPOWERMENT TELEVISION

Chairman William J. Bennett
President Paul M. Weyrich
Vice President Robert W. Golas

For more information about NET programming and how you can take part in the citizen empowerment movement,

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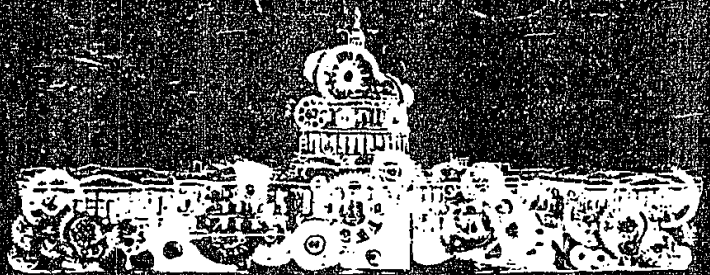
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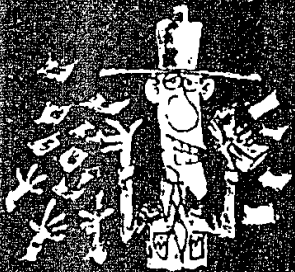
PERPETUAL

ELECTION

MACHINE

By Shawn Miller

By Henrik Bering-Jensen



'See 'For the People'

'See 'Yeas & Nays'

By Eric Felten

Voters Get Tuned In to Power

By Shawn Miller



Summary: Paul Weyrich's National Empowerment Television network is young but already making its mark. It aims to steer people away from political apathy and toward political influence — and not just in presidential elections.

Peter Brown has seen the future of American politics, and he saw it on television — satellite television, to be exact.

A contributing editor to *OnSat* magazine, Brown argues that "the limited degree of participation by the American electorate" makes the time ripe for considering drastic changes in the political system. Translation: wider use of his favorite technology, the parabolic TV dish.

Brown, who also is the founder, publicist and ranking member of the Parabolic Party, is mystified that politicians have been slow to grasp the potential of the new electronic environment offered by satellite technology. And he is convinced that "narrowcasting" — specialty programs beamed to select audiences — can shake the American people out of their political funk, keep them better

informed and offer them more direct access to an influence on national politicians.

In a small studio in the basement of the Free Congress Foundation in Washington, Brown's future is Paul Weyrich's present. A year and a half ago — before Ross Perot's talk of electronic town hall meetings — the conservative activist launched his National Empowerment Television network as an experiment in "interactive political television." Each month since then, groups of up to 150 faithful activists in congressional districts around the country (now 91 of them and counting) have gathered at a site with a satellite dish equipped to receive NET's signal. What they see is an hour-long hybrid of *Larry King Live* and the political strategy meetings Weyrich has been hosting with conservative leaders in Washington for the past 20 years.

The basic format of the telecast is inspiration, then action. Studio and call-in interviews of big-name politicians such as Secretary of Education Lamar Alexander, Rep. Newt Gingrich of Georgia and Sen. Phil Gramm of Texas fill the first 30 minutes of each show. The second half is devoted to advice on how viewers can influence their elected officials.

"The general purpose of NET is to involve people in changing America,"

says Weyrich, president of the Free Congress Foundation. "We have a tremendous amount of anger and frustration out there, and it has to be directed properly or it will go to waste."

Former Secretary of Education William Bennett, who signed on as chairman of the NET board of directors in June and is a frequent guest on the shows, sees the network as reviving a "conversation between the governors and the governed."

To make the conversation easier to follow, NET has broken its telecasts down into four programs, each of which airs once a month:

- *Empowerment Outreach Live*, which focuses on tax reform, competitiveness, wasteful government spending and legislative reform. A recent guest was Sen. Bob Smith of New Hampshire, who appeared on the "action item" half of the show to push his debt reduction plan that would allow taxpayers to earmark up to 10 percent of their income tax each year for debt reduction. Cohost Weyrich pitched in, asking viewers to call their congressmen and urge support for Smith's bill.

- *Family Forum Live*, focusing on "traditional family values" — encompassing a wide variety of issues from school choice to abortion. During the September episode Rep. Dana Roh-



Weyrich (left) and Bennett say Bush's bad standing has helped their network.

abacher of California called for a viewer boycott of Levi Strauss and Wells Fargo, two companies that recently withdrew charitable support of the Boy Scouts for refusing to employ homosexual scoutmasters.

• *A Second Look Live*, which offers an outlet and support system for black conservatives. The NET program of which Weyrich is proudest, *A Second Look* was born in the aftermath of the Clarence Thomas confirmation hearings last October. Weyrich "felt that the coalition that had been brought together during the hearings shouldn't be allowed to dissolve," says Phyllis Berry Myers, the show's producer. With "action items" such as a protest of Sister Souljah's appearance at Black Expo '92 in Indianapolis and support for the boycott of Time Warner in response to Ice-T's song "Cop Killer," Myers wants her audience to take a second look at "the line of thinking the black community has been told is in our best interests, when in fact it is not." She describes the response as "overwhelming." Weyrich has tentative plans to start a similar telecast for Mexican-Americans next year.

• *Campus Connection Live*, debuting Oct. 8, will concentrate on concerns such as the effect of the "isms" (multiculturalism, feminism, envi-

ronmentalism) on higher education. Producer Molly Baldwin, only a year out of Boston College, hopes the show will offer the same sense of camaraderie to campus conservatives that *Second Look* offers black conservatives. "Every campus has students and professors who don't go along with the politically correct agenda that is being pushed on them and will suffer socially and academically if they are outspoken about their beliefs," Baldwin says. Ten campus outlets have been lined up for this academic year, including ones at the University of Maine, Pennsylvania State University and Pepperdine University.

Though word of NET and its programs hasn't spread far beyond the ears of its participants, there have been flashes of potency of the sort Weyrich is looking for. A few days after a *Family Forum Live* show in February that saw guest Constance Horner, director of presidential personnel, endure a barrage of caller complaints about the National Endowment for the Arts and its contro-

versial grants, President Bush fired NEA Chairman John Frohnmayer. Though NET staffers play down the network's role in the dismissal, at the time White House officials suggested that Horner and her appearance on the show were crucial to the president's action.

The network's part in a July 1991 decision by Secretary of Health and Human Services Louis Sullivan to cancel an \$18 million sex survey of American teens is more obvious. Appearing on NET, Sullivan was shocked when Bob Baldwin, president of the Michigan Association of Christian Schools, confronted him with the HHS survey, which would have asked more than 20,000 junior high school and high school students about their sexual experiences. Sullivan had been unaware of the survey; within two days it was canceled.

It also appears that NET had a behind-the-scenes role in the Clarence Thomas/Anita Hill melodrama. Though he will not divulge names, Weyrich says NET was directly responsible for the pro-Thomas votes of senators from two Western states. "We flooded their offices with over 2,000 phone calls in two days," he says. "One of them met with our affiliate in his state and asked, 'What do I have to do to call off the dogs?'" The answer was obvious: Vote for confirmation. In a rare public appearance, Thomas went on *Second Look Live* in July to thank the network for its support.

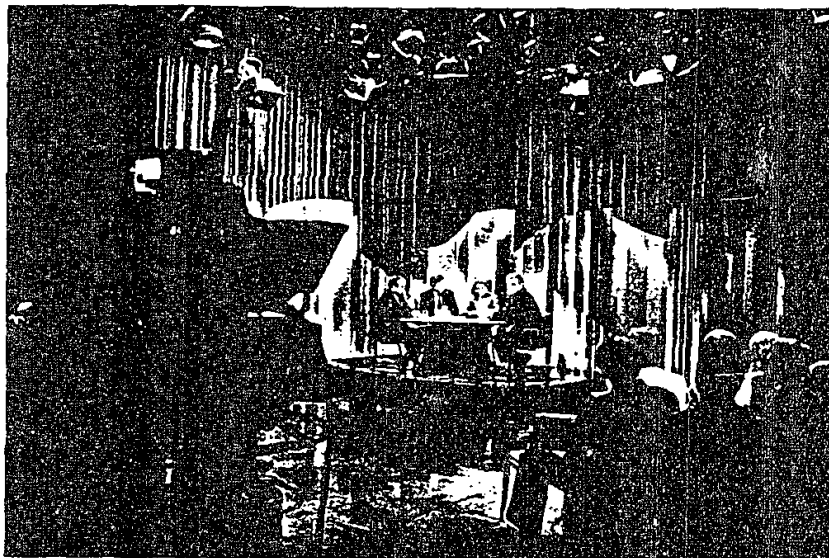
Secretary of Education Alexander has adapted the idea of satellite networking for his department's Amer-

ica 2000 project — a program fostering innovation in public school organization. "I was looking for a way to give more consistent support to all the communities trying to change their schools," says Alexander, who

has appeared on NET five times. "When Paul invited me to be a part of his network, his idea rang a bell, and I thought to myself, 'Maybe we ought to take a closer look at this.'" There have been four America 2000 Satellite Town Meetings, reaching almost 1,000 communities.

Satisfied that it has a successful format, NET has moved to widen its influence. On Sept. 15, Wisconsin Empowerment Network Television

"Every campus has students and professors who don't go along with the politically correct agenda and will suffer if they are outspoken."



In Wisconsin, WENT follows the national model but focuses on state issues.

made its debut from a public television studio in Madison. With 10 remote locations across the state where viewers can receive the signal, WENT functions in much the same fashion as the national show, except the celebrity guests and action items center on statewide issues.

"WENT is [an important] step forward," says Michael Schwartz, who frequently cohosts the national program with Weyrich. Schwartz sees the move to state and local issues as a natural next step for NET. "More of the government policy that actually affects the day-to-day lives of real people takes place on a state level than on a national level."

NET wheeled in the big guns for the inaugural WENT broadcast. Both Weyrich and Bennett spent the night in Madison, appearing on the local show and a national one that followed. They also used the occasion to honor Wisconsin Gov. Tommy Thompson, somewhat of a cult hero among conservatives for his successful welfare reform and school choice initiatives.

The Wisconsin show, too, had its "action items": There was a pitch from Partners Advancing Values in Education, a privately funded Milwaukee group that promotes school choice by providing vouchers to poor students for private school tuition. And James Silver of the Wisconsin Association of Non Public Schools touted a bill that would provide tax credits to parents who want to send their children to private school.

Weyrich sees the national programming, which follows the Wisconsin show, as a "tremendous drawing card" for this and future state systems. With the lure of celebrities in

the second hour, more people will show up for the first hour of state issues. Steve Knutson, who coordinates the La Crosse affiliate of WENT, says the group of a dozen curious souls who gathered at Western Wisconsin Technical College to watch the first broadcast were "especially attracted to the idea that you had these high-profile political folks who you could just pick up the phone and have direct access to."

A city Republican Party official, Knutson also sees WENT as a public relations coup. Because the program offers "people a chance to feel more politically involved," Knutson thinks WENT will help him organize people who would otherwise be apathetic. "This is going to bring a lot of people" into the Republican fold, he predicts.

Weyrich, however, believes the potential impact of NET is less immediately partisan. While he suspects interest in NET has been spurred by the unhappiness in conservative circles with George Bush, he points out that one of the goals of his group is to wean the electorate from the notion that political activism begins and ends with voting for a president. "We want to convince [the voters] that they need to be active in the long term, not just for two months every four years," he says. "If we can take this far enough, then it won't matter who is in power."

Bennett also believes the fact that "conservatives are very upset with the Bush administration" is at least partially responsible for NET's quick start, but he adds to the equation "a general discontent with Congress"

and public reaction to a "crisis in the social and moral values in our country."

Both Weyrich and Bennett take care to speak of potential rather than achievement, noting that NET is still in its infancy. "We have potentially a very powerful instrument for reform," says Bennett, "but its continued success is not inevitable." The Sullivan and Thomas examples aside, NET is not yet a prime-time player in the Washington influence game. Sen. Larry Craig of Idaho, who has appeared on the network twice, says "it is going to take some time" before the mention of NET throws fear into the hearts of his colleagues.

But the exploding technology of satellite communications, which should see smaller and cheaper dishes, promises wider availability. Expansion will bring higher costs; each new viewing site carries a \$2,500 price tag for NET, and the network's \$2.1 million annual budget is projected to double by 1997. While the bulk of NET's startup expenses have been covered by a Free Congress Foundation special projects fund and private donations, Weyrich hopes an advertising campaign that's in the works will drum up additional support.

Assuming success in that area, NET is planning for a future that would include affiliates in all 435 congressional districts, remote and overseas broadcasts, NET news and debate programs, and movement into the cable market. There is also optimism regarding further activities in the states, with Georgia poised to follow Wisconsin as the next state affiliate.

Brown of the Parabolic Party stretches the possibilities beyond even those that Weyrich is considering. The party platform's major plank calls for a telecommunications system that would let congressmen interact through satellite linkups from their home districts, putting them closer to their constituents and farther from Capitol Hill's lobbyists and special interest groups.

Unfortunately for satellite enthusiasts, the fact that NET has not inspired any imitation networks (except for Alexander's educational spinoff) belies any visions of a dispersed Congress. Weyrich, for one, would welcome the challenge of competition — even from the liberal side of the fence. "The more people involved in the discussion, the better," he says. "That's the whole point of what we are trying to accomplish." •

The dawn of satellite politics

If you were just zapping through regular television fare last Wednesday night, you would never have seen it. But if you had special equipment—a dish equipped to receive Ku-band transmissions, pointed 99 degrees west, aimed at SBS 6, Transponder 15—you would have witnessed something truly different: the creation of a new politics in America.

For 20 years, Paul Weyrich has served as a spark plug for conservative activists in Washington, D.C., drawing them together on a regular basis to plot strategy. A year ago, he decided to take his meetings out of the back room and into grass-roots America. The result is "National Empowerment Television," a pioneering attempt to link high technology with a growing hunger among people outside Washington to seize control again.

Through a series of televised programs, NET has already become a potent new force, and if you saw it in action last week, you could easily see why. The show was staged in a row house in northeast Washington, home of the Free Congress Foundation, which Weyrich heads. By satellite, it was beamed into 65 communities, where groups of 40 to 150 local conservatives—about 40 percent of them Democratic—gathered before specially equipped TV sets. Through an 800 telephone number, each group could call in and talk live with Weyrich, show co-host Michael Schwartz and guests.

For half an hour, social activists lined up to tell the audience how to help in attacking "hot" issues. Abortion opponent Patricia Bainbridge, for example, urged viewers to step up a boycott of companies giving funds to Planned Parenthood, "the largest single provider of abortions." Her attacks would infuriate liberals, but what she wants is results, and she's getting them: She says 22 big companies, including AT&T, have cut off contributions.

Populist technology. The evening's *pièce de résistance* was Education Secretary Lamar Alexander, who spent 45 minutes fielding questions and listening to complaints about the country's schools and morals. Ever sensitive to populist politics—he may be in the thick of the 1996 presidential contest—Alexander was making his third appearance on NET. So fascinated has he been that he is trying to set up his own separate network tying together communities pledged to the administration's education reforms.

How strong is National Empowerment Television? Powerful enough that a parade of cabinet officers and

senators has quietly trekked before cameras; Dick Cheney is due in May, and Richard Nixon has agreed to come later. "There is a real, perceptible impact in the White House and on Capitol Hill when they focus on an issue," says a Bush adviser, who adds that anger expressed by participants in a show earlier this year was a major spur in the president's decision to fire John Frohnmayer, chief of the National Endowment for the Arts.

The headiest moment for NET, says Weyrich, was the Supreme Court confirmation of Clarence Thomas. For months, participants in his teleconferences worked to help Thomas. Then, at a crucial moment, people in Western states collared two wavering Democrats, verbally beating up one of them. "We got both votes," Weyrich is convinced. So, apparently, is Thomas. The new justice has turned down all requests for speeches and interviews, but he has made one exception: an appearance on NET to thank the participants.

Weyrich now broadcasts three shows a month and is building rapidly. The biggest is for social conservatives, another for economic conservatives, the latest—and most intriguing—for blacks. Energized by the Thomas fight, black groups in 12 cities now talk about ways of preserving families and neighborhoods. "They don't want to be quiet anymore," exults Phyllis Berry Myers, recruited to put together the program after her testimony on behalf of Thomas.

America won't be quiet anymore, either. Interactive television is not a new technology;

corporations like Wal-Mart and J. C. Penney as well as TV call-in hosts have used it for several years. But Weyrich & Co. are the first to put its magic behind a political movement. While many will strenuously object to its agenda, National Empowerment Television actually accomplishes something deeper that is altogether healthy: It is reconnecting citizens to each other and to their leaders.

There is a lesson here for left as well as right. Bring together groups of angry Americans, let them talk directly to their public servants, let them share ideas with each other—and soon the discontent so pervasive in the land can turn into direct political action. In an earlier age, a James Madison would have worried about the prospects of mob rule, but in today's fragmented and fractious politics, there is much to be said for building new coalitions and a new sense of community. Can it be long before Common Cause has a channel, too?



Empowerers. Alexander, Weyrich and Schwartz

'Weyrich decided to take his meetings out of the back room and into grass-roots America.'

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EXHIBIT 6

PR: You've often said the conservative movement was strongest between 1975 and 1981. What did conservatives do better then, both institutionally and politically, than they're doing today?

Weyrich: In those days, we had local organizations that had been built up through the hard times of the 1960s and 1970s. We could call on them to do political work that would eventually translate into liberals being defeated and conservatives being elected. Today, those organizations have to be reinvented because many simply shut down after they thought that Nirvana had come when Reagan and the Republican Senate were elected in 1980. Most of the leaders
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moved to Washington and got jobs.

In 1978, I was able to put together a coalition of social conservatives, religious conservatives, gun owners, right-to-work people, and economic or defense and foreign policy conservatives in most of the country's congressional districts. If we found a candidate who was right on the issues, we could quickly have a viable political operation, identify votes, and turn them out. Today, in many areas of the country, we have no such operations. We have been doing our best to change that, and the situation in 1991 is far better than it was, say, in 1988 or in 1984 for that matter.

The growth of conservative state think tanks is a very important development. About half a dozen states now have really effective ones. We are also seeing the resurgence of local coalitions. James Dobson and Focus on the Family are putting enormous resources into state family groups, some of which are now organized around the <Coalitions for America> satellite network, and which are learning to cooperate with each other by virtue of being plugged into Washington. We have just begun to work on this satellite project, and it is growing daily. We will have movement headquarters all over America with trained activists who can work on an issue at any time. This will translate politically.
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PR: You have long expressed the hope that the conservative Christian churches could supply the kind of precinct-level political base that labor unions provide for liberalism. Why hasn't this happened yet, at least in most parts of the country?

Weyrich: It hasn't happened because church leaders fear that political involvement is potentially divisive within the congregation. Coming from a hierarchical church, I naturally looked to pastors, television personalities, and denominational leaders to organize political activity, but I now realize that among Southern Baptists and other evangelical Protestants this sort of involvement will have to come from the congregation upward. In due course, I think the conservative Christians will be the balance of political activity in the precincts, but it's going to come from the initiative of the lay people and not from the initiative of the pastors.

PR: How important is it for conservatives to have a national leader?

Weyrich: I used to think it was unimportant but I was wrong. Ronald Reagan, close up, left a lot to be desired, but Ronald Reagan, the political icon, was really indispensable for vibrant conservatism, both at home and abroad. This
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forces in the rural areas, set up regional meetings so they could see they were not alone, and instructed them on how to handle intimidation from Communist authorities.

In Bulgaria, when UDF forces complained that the Communists were promising more sugar to the people who would vote their way, and the democrats had no such financial ability to be competitive, my colleague John Exnicios invented a slogan that we have used now all over the East: "Take their sugar and vote for UDF." Now, that seems absurdly simple, and yet one could visibly see the change in attitude once this slogan had been pronounced. Secret ballots were essential for this to work, so we had to train people about their rights.

We also came up with a comic book idea, where the control of these party bosses was made into a joke. There is nothing more devastating in politics
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p.R. = Policy Review

than ridicule. By passing around comic books in samizdat fashion, we helped break the psychology of control among local people.

PR: Presumably, you have had to cut back on some of your training conferences for conservative leaders in America. Why are you devoting more of your energy to the emerging new democracies in the former Soviet empire than to our own democracy at home?

Weyrich: Well, it isn't true that we have slackened our efforts in this country. We are doing more training now in the United States than we have done for a decade. I have cut out many other Washington activities that I have been involved in, to free up my time for the people of the East and also for building the conservative infrastructure around America, particularly the television networks for conservative activists that we are establishing through
<Coalitions for America.>

Why am I spending so much time in the East? This is a historic opportunity. I feel as if I am reliving 1776 in Philadelphia. The discussions I've had with people in the East about political principles, about where they want to take their country, have challenged me in a way that I have never been challenged in 37 years of politics. The people there want advice, and America, and American
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conservatism, have credibility as never before. I also feel a special obligation as an American to the people of the East. We failed these people at the beginning of the Cold War. We consigned many of them to slavery. We acquiesced to their absorption into the Soviet empire. Now I think we have the duty to help them defeat Communism for good.

America's future is also at stake. The Soviets have been the greatest threat to world peace that mankind has known. Not only were they a threat with their awesome military arsenal, they also funded almost every low-intensity conflict around the globe. Their system was designed to foment revolution, to cause trouble, to destroy an orderly way of life. And if we could possibly make a small contribution to turning around that system and promoting democratic capitalism, which, for all its faults, is not aggressive, then I think we would be making an enormous contribution to world peace and stability.

Now, the State Department's definition of stability and mine are very different. The State Department's definition of stability is keeping an imposed order on a subjugated people. My definition is encouraging those same people to

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EXHIBIT 7

JUNE 1991



Empowerment!

THE NEWSLETTER FOR SUCCESSFUL CONSERVATIVE LEADERSHIP

Networking

When Terry Allen was offered the opportunity to establish a state affiliate of Focus on the Family in his native Oklahoma, he leapt at the chance. In his four years on Capitol Hill, Allen had gained not only experience, but also a conviction that the best place to advance conservative policy is in the states.

Before leaving Washington, Allen paid a call on Paul Weyrich, to say good-bye and to thank Weyrich for his guidance and support. They both agreed that Allen could accomplish more in Oklahoma than by being just another aide on Capitol Hill.

"The only thing about Washington that I'll really miss," said Allen, "are the Library Court meetings. Isn't there some way you could get those out to people around the country, maybe by closed circuit TV?"

Library Court is the bi-weekly meeting of pro-family activists which Weyrich has been hosting since 1979. Practically all of the conservative activity on family issues is planned at these meetings. Allen had been a regular Library Court participant ever since he worked for Rep. Clyde Holloway (R-LA) during the child care battle. Occasionally, he had even co-chaired the meetings.

Instead of giving a yes or no answer to Allen's question, Weyrich suggested, "Why don't you figure out how it could be done and how much it would cost. Then send me a memo on it." Within days Allen sent him a brief feasibility study.

And that was the beginning of what promises to become the most

important new development in grassroots activism in the past decade.

The coalition model

Weyrich has been running coalition meetings in Washington since 1972. His Coalitions for America brings together the leaders of conservative organizations, members of congressional staffs and key figures in Executive departments to work on action-oriented projects to move the conservative agenda forward in the nation's capital. Separate coalitions meet regularly to work on family, economic, defense and foreign policy, and judicial issues. The meetings are off the record and by invitation only, aimed at coordinating action on key policy concerns.

The format is simple. Participants present "action items": information about a pending piece of legislation, a hearing or event, a presidential appointment or a proposed regulation. Then they invite attendees to commit to take some action on each item. Many meetings also feature an interview with a key government leader who responds to questions about policy and legislation, long-range plans and concerns about particular issues. These conversations often have positive results and afford opportunities for direct give and take between conservative leaders and government decision-makers.

Coalition meetings have become an indispensable tool for conservative leaders in Washington. Other conservatives around the country have organized similar coalitions in

HIGHLIGHTS

1

NETWORKING

A pioneering example of using communication technology to turn grassroots conservatives into Washington insiders.

4

STUDYING HOW TO WIN

Two recipients of Morton Blackwell's training profile the programs of the Leadership Institute and how it is making a difference at the grassroots level.

7

DIRECT MAIL HELPS MAKE THE GRASSROOTS "GREENER"

Scott E. Huch, a professional copywriter, discusses steps to writing a successful direct mail fundraising letter.

8

LEARNING FROM EMPOWERMENT!

Paul Weyrich discusses what EMPOWERMENT! has to offer.

See page 2

their localities based on the same model. When the Focus on the Family organization decided in 1989 to establish state affiliates, such as Terry Allen's Resource Institute of Oklahoma, one of the functions was to organize coalition meetings among pro-family groups in the state.



Empowerment!

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Library Court Live

Allen's suggestion intrigued Weyrich. If people around the country could actually sit in on a coalition meeting, via television, they would see how Washington really works. It would give them immediate access to information on key issues, and thereby cut the response time in getting grassroots action on important issues. It would teach them how coalitions work, and give them a model to follow in their own localities. And it would enable them to have candid exchanges with top government leaders.

This was the kind of thing that could link the grassroots with Washington as never before. It was an ideal way to strengthen the conservative movement at the local level, and at the same time maximize conserva-

tive influence in Washington.

But it was a major undertaking that would add tens of thousands of dollars in expenses, including heavy capital improvements, to the tiny budget of Coalitions for America. Grassroots groups might not respond. How could it be paid for?

After consulting with conservative leaders around the country and finding real interest, Weyrich decided to go ahead with the project. He and his staff hammered out a plan.

On the third Tuesday of each month, the Library Court meeting would be moved to the evening. One hour of that meeting would be broadcast via satellite to subscribers around the country. This would leave them sufficient time to hold their own coalition meeting before or after the broadcast. The program

HOW YOU CAN GET ON THE NETWORK

A coalition, a satellite downlink and a participation fee can put you on the Library Court, Kingston or Stanton Live network.

If you are interested in receiving any one of these broadcasts, here's what to do.

1. Contact the organizations in your state or community which are likely to want to participate. For *Library Court*, this would include those interested in pro-life, pornography, education and religious issues. For *Kingston*, it includes business, tax limitation and right-to-work groups. And for *Stanton*, it includes groups concerned with national defense and foreign policy. Participation is voluntary, and by invitation only. If you coordinate the meeting, you decide who attends. Our recommendation is that only persons who can commit the resources of their organizations should be invited, but that those who have membership organizations, publications or radio shows, and research or lobbying organizations be included.

2. Locate a KU-band satellite receiver which you can use on a regular basis. Many churches, colleges, public buildings and offices have satellite dishes, as do some private homes. If you have difficulty finding the necessary equipment, contact the Coalitions for America staff for assistance in either locating an available downlink, upgrading existing equipment that is available, or acquiring new equipment at a discount rate.

3. Send in a \$100 monthly participation fee. This can be obtained by assessing the participating groups in your coalition, finding one or more donor/sponsors, or having a single organization cover the fee. Since this project is one that many donors may find attractive, your participation can become a great fund-raising opportunity for the groups in your coalition.

4. Contact the Coalitions for America staff (Michael Schwartz, Eric Licht or Bob Golas) at (202) 546-3004, either to sign up as a subscriber or to get more information. The Coalitions staff may be able to refer you to other persons or groups in your vicinity who are interested in the program, and they can fill you in on the technical details you need to join the network.

would run from 8 to 9 pm Eastern time (5 to 6 pm Pacific time), so it would be available after working hours throughout the country. The first half hour would be devoted to action items, selected on the basis of their significance and their relevance to grassroots activists. The second half-hour would feature interviews with a special guest, with subscribers from across the country calling in questions on a toll-free number. Each subscriber would pay a monthly participation fee of \$100 — enough to cover costs once there was a sufficient number of subscribers, yet not too high for local groups to afford.

They began work on installing the satellite uplink and transforming the Coalitions for America meeting room into a broadcast studio. Contracts had to be signed, equipment purchased and installed, technicians trained. Most of all, subscribers had to be signed up.

Since the beginning of the year, Weyrich's staff had been busy trying to line up a network of subscribers. The concept was not a familiar one to most grassroots activists. Even the notion of bringing pro-family leaders together for coalition meetings is a new idea in most places, and linking them all into the same meeting simultaneously through television was an additional novelty.

But imaginative leaders from across the country recognized the potential of this project. It would help them bring local coalitions together by providing a unique attraction. It would give their local activists inside knowledge about national affairs and enable them to have real impact. And it opened up new fundraising possibilities by offering a self-contained project that helped many organizations at once.

On the other hand, the task of organizing the local meeting presented some serious difficulties. First, it was necessary to locate a meeting place with the right receiving equipment. Churches, colleges, office buildings, and even private homes were canvassed as possible meeting sites. In at least three cases, the local or-

ganizers of "Library Court Live" decided that it would be necessary to invest in their own satellite dishes. The initial cost was high, but the long-term benefits would justify the investment.

A second challenge was securing the monthly participation fee. Where coalitions were already functioning, this was not a major difficulty because the financial burden could be shared among several organizations. But elsewhere, some creative energy was called into play. In New York

THE COALITIONS FOR AMERICA NETWORK

Coalitions for America is so pleased with the response to *Library Court Live* that it has decided to add two more monthly programs later this year.

Kingston Live will be a broadcast of the Kingston Group, which deals with economic policy issues, while *Stanton Live* will address defense and foreign policy issues. Both of these programs are scheduled to premiere in the fall of 1991. Those interested in subscribing to either of these broadcast meetings should contact Eric Licht of Coalitions for America at (202) 546-3000.

City, for example, organizer Chris Slattery set up a sliding fee for participants, with those who contributed more heavily entitled to greater representation at the meetings. The group in Erie, Pa. decided to seek out sponsors for each program among local businessmen. Elsewhere, organizers saw an opportunity to seek support from a single large donor, or assessed meeting participants for a share of the fee so the burden would not fall too heavily on any one organization.

One by one, the groups around the country solved their logistical problems and signed on to the network. By the time of the April 16 premiere of "Library Court Live" the list of subscribers was large enough to justify confidence that the project could become self-sustaining, and new subscribers continue to join the network.

Each subscriber was given the satellite coordinates needed to

view the broadcast and the toll-free telephone number for calling in questions and comments during the program. The written handouts to be distributed at the meeting in connection with each of the action item presentations were sent out in advance via fax, so they could be distributed to those in attendance at each location.

The content of the first show was flawless. Phyllis Schlafly, in Washington for a congressional hearing that week, made the first action item presentation on behalf of the Coats/Wolf proposals to increase the personal income tax exemption for dependent children. The other action items concerned the National Endowment for the Arts, a bill in Congress to restore federal funding to the forced-abortion policy in China through the UN Population Fund, and a pro-abortion boycott directed against the State of Utah.

The highlight of the program, however, was the special guest appearance of Lamar Alexander, the new Secretary of Education. Secretary Alexander outlined his viewpoints on the key education issues of the day and he spent a full half-hour responding to

questions from callers and from the studio audience. Fittingly, the first call came from Terry Allen in Oklahoma City. Since this broadcast was almost on the eve of the public presentation of the Bush Administration's education plan, viewers received a preview of the policy direction the Administration would take, as well as a frank statement of Secretary Alexander's views on issues. The Secretary, meanwhile, was made aware of conservative concerns on home schooling, the participation of church-related schools in education choice programs, national teaching certification standards, and school-based health clinics.

Response from viewers was phenomenally enthusiastic. Trent Franks of the Arizona Family Research Institute reported that, even though he had been conducting coalition meetings for a year, his coalition partners in Phoenix seemed to understand,

for the first time, how meetings are supposed to run. Chris Slattery in New York City said the broadcast had stimulated dozens of ideas within his coalition and helped them focus on specific actions they could take locally. Carole Griffin in Tallahassee decided to get other groups around her state to subscribe to the broadcast so the grassroots in Florida could become better organized and more active.

As expected, the subscriber list grew substantially for the second program, and dozens of groups around the country are now working on joining the network. Some minor technical flaws noted in the

April broadcast were corrected, and — thanks in part to Secretary Alexander's favorable report — prominent guests have already been lined up for forthcoming programs.

"The conservative movement is only as strong as our grassroots," said Weyrich. "These broadcasts enable grassroots activists to become Washington insiders, to find out what they can do right now to have impact on national issues, and also to learn how to work together effectively to maximize their strength in their own states and communities. This is the key movement-building tool for conservatives in the nineties."

WHEN TO WATCH

Once a month—every third Tuesday—**LIBRARY COURT LIVE** will be broadcast via satellite. Here are the remaining dates for 1991:

June 18, 1991

July 16, 1991

August 20, 1991

September 17, 1991

October 15, 1991

November 19, 1991

December 17, 1991

All broadcasts are scheduled to begin at 8:00 p.m.

Studying how to win

BY MIKE SPOREK AND B.G. MALAMUT, JR.

"Study is a preparation for action." Morton Blackwell has used these words throughout his career in politics. They form the cornerstone of his organization, The Leadership Institute. The Leadership Institute's mission is to locate, recruit, train and place young conservatives in the public policy process. Each year his training programs empower about 1,000 bright and principled young Americans to make a difference. They will have a positive influence on the future of America.

Morton's own career in public policy began as a student at Louisiana State University (L.S.U.). He and his future wife, Helen, helped start an organization called "Students for a Conservative Government" which brought nationally known conservatives to speak at L.S.U. Thus began his fight for conservative principles, now in its fourth decade.

His early involvement led Morton to a very important realization: To win at politics, being pure of heart is not sufficient. In 1964 he was the youngest delegate for Barry Goldwater at the Republican National Convention. Secure in the knowledge that the values Goldwater

stood for were right, Morton learned from the disappointing results in the 1964 election—that being right was not enough. Conservatives owe it to their philosophy to study how to win.

Morton resolved to ensure that more young conservatives do precisely that. In 1968 he began the first of his national training programs which led to the creation of the Leadership Institute in 1979.

Sixteen years after he was a Goldwater delegate, and after having trained thousands of young conservative activists in the intervening years, Morton was a Ronald Reagan delegate to the 1980 convention. Conservatism prevailed at the convention. Unlike 1964, this time the nomination victory was followed by another when Americans went to the polls in the fall.

Thanks in part to Morton's training, in 1980 conservative activists were numerous and more effective. In short, the conservative movement had studied and learned how to win.

In fact, a list of those in position to affect public policy who benefited from Morton's training reads like a "Who's who?" of American Conservatism. Among the graduates of his

first national youth leadership school in 1968 were Mitch McConnell (now U. S. Senator from Kentucky) and Terry Branstad (now Governor of Iowa). Others in high elected office who have been empowered through the political knowledge learned at his schools include Congressmen Jack Fields (Texas) and Vin Weber (Minnesota). Hundreds of local, state and federal officials as well as private sector leaders are graduates of his training. Activists from nearly every significant conservative group got their start at his schools.

Morton himself has had a direct hand in affecting American public policy.

In early 1984, Morton, then Special Assistant to the President for Public Liaison, left the White House to direct all his efforts toward increasing the number and effectiveness of conservative activists. His Leadership Institute expands every year, training increasing numbers of young conservative activists.

Currently the Institute offers eight different schools, each designed in its own way to empower young conservative activists for participation in different areas of the public policy

process. Some of them include:

The well-known Youth Leadership School, the Institute's flagship school teaches the fundamentals of politics.

The popular Capitol Hill Staff Training School is for conservatives interested in working in a congressional office.

The Candidate Career Development School guides prospective candidates for public office, suggesting ways of political, philosophical, educational and personal preparation for them to achieve their goals.

The Foreign Service Opportunity School trains young conservatives to pass the State Department's Foreign Service exam and successfully enter the Foreign Service.

The Student Publication School teaches students how to begin and properly run successful conservative campus publications. These conservative campus newspapers now provide an alternative view to college and university students who have previously had no choice other than the liberal campus press.

The newest Leadership Institute school is the Mentor school, which teaches conservative adults to become "political mentors" giving them the expertise to guide bright, young conservatives who should be active in government and politics.

All of his schools empower conservatives week after week, training them how to affect public policy issues in America, and beyond. Students from more than 15 foreign countries have similarly benefited from Morton's training, including, in the past year, young people from four countries behind the old Iron Curtain.

Unlike Johnny Appleseed, who planted his seeds and moved on, Morton tends to his seedlings, always looking for new and effective ways to bring young people along. In doing so, he empowers an increasing number of conservatives to influence the public policy of the United States.

Mike Sporer and B.G. Malamut, Jr. are graduates of Morton Blackwell's Youth Leadership School. Both have used their training to make a difference in public policy at the grassroots level.

LAWS OF THE PUBLIC POLICY PROCESS

- Never give a bureaucrat a chance to say no.
- Don't fire all your ammunition at once.
- You can't beat a plan with no plan.
- Political technology determines political success.
- In politics, you have your word and your friends; go back on either and you're dead.
- Don't treat good guys like you treat bad guys.
- You can't save the world if you can't pay the rent.
- Never miss a political meeting if you think there's the slightest chance you'll wish you'd been there.
- In volunteer politics, a builder can build faster than a destroyer can destroy.
- Actions have consequences.
- The mind can absorb no more than the seat can endure.
- You cannot make friends of your enemies by making enemies of your friends.
- Don't rely on being given anything you don't ask for.
- Winners aren't perfect. They made fewer mistakes than their rivals.
- In moments of crisis, the initiative passes to those who are best prepared.
- Politics is of the heart as well as of the mind. Many people don't care how much you know until they know how much you care.
- Moral outrage is the most powerful motivating force in politics.
- Don't get mad except on purpose.
- Keep your eye on the main chance and don't stop to kick every barking dog.
- Pray as if it all depended on God; work as if everything depended on you.
- Effort is admirable. Achievement is valuable.
- Give 'em a title and get 'em involved.
- Sound doctrine is sound politics.
- Don't make the perfect the enemy of the good.
- Remember, the other side has troubles too.
- A well-run movement takes care of its own.
- Hire at least as many to the right of you as to the left of you.
- An ounce of loyalty is worth a pound of cleverness.
- Remember, it's a long ball game.
- Trust only those who are reliable even when a good cause appears to be losing.
- Governing is campaigning by different means.
- A prompt, generous letter of thanks can seal a commitment which otherwise might disappear when the going gets tough.
- The test of moral ideas is moral results.
- You can't beat somebody with nobody.
- In politics, nothing moves unless it's pushed.

Direct mail helps make the grassroots "greener"

BY SCOTT E. HUCH

A local, volunteer grassroots organization can use direct mail very easily and effectively to raise money.

The number one rule is: "Don't make it too hard on yourself!" Your fundraising letters don't have to look like a subscription piece from *National Geographic*. Just follow a few simple rules, learned the hard way over the years by professional direct marketers, and you should be able to raise the money needed to fund your operation.

Any good fundraising letter must get the donor involved. Make sure he or she understands the battle you are fighting. And explain precisely what you want the donor to do to help you. But most important—make it easy to respond.

Spend plenty of time writing the actual letter (more on that in a moment)—but also plan the other elements of your fundraising package very carefully.

First, the envelope. Don't think you have to use your group's pre-printed business envelopes. Use envelopes that are different, or even unusual—mix them up! Try a social size baronial or a 6"x 9". And who says they have to be white? The more unique your letter appears, the more likely it will be opened.

Always hand-address your envelopes for fundraising mail. Several conservative groups I work with in Fairfax County, Virginia, hold an "envelope addressing party" a few nights prior to the "envelope stuffing party." Window envelopes and labels have "junk mail" written all over them. And always use an actual postage stamp instead of a meter or a pre-printed indicia, even when mailing at bulk rate. Stamped letters get opened more often.

Remember this: it is a very brave

person who receives an odd-looking hand-addressed envelope with no return address—and then throws it in the garbage without opening it.

At the same time, the personal look usually beats cleverness. Ideally—even though your letter may look unusual or unique—you should feel as comfortable sending it as you would a personal letter to a close friend.

Now for the letter itself. I promise that this is true: a four page letter will almost always raise more money than a one-page letter. Really! Since your first goal is to persuade your donor to send a contribution to your group, take your time and use as much space as necessary to tell him or her 1) what the problem is; 2) what your group proposes to do about it; and 3) what the donor should do to help you.

Always write as if you are addressing just one person. The recipient should feel you are talking only to him.

Don't be timid about asking for money. In American society, it is not an easy thing to do. Force yourself. Ask for the money somewhere in the first five paragraphs, again in the last ten, and then in the postscript (always use a P.S. to re-state your entire case in a few lines). You don't have to sound like a beggar with hat in hand, but people can't read your mind—if your group needs money, ask for it.

When you write your letter, don't use a dry, technical tone. Write about the threat your donor now faces due to the problem you identify. Talk about how your donor will benefit if he helps you solve the problem. You must present an effective and credible solution. Beware of big numbers or grandiose generalities that mean little to the donor personally.

Make it hit home. A \$100 billion tax hike doesn't pack the same wallop as the extra \$1,000 it will cost your family next year.

Campaigns and political groups with whom I have worked learned through experience that people will not contribute simply to help pay your Field Director's mileage expenses. While you should ask for a contribution which will be applied to a specific project, remember the common philosophy and vision you share with your donor. And don't forget that their negative feelings about your political enemies are probably every bit as strong (or stronger) than yours.

Avoid long, wordy sentences, long paragraphs, and complicated explanations. If you confuse your donor, he will lose interest and you will lose a contribution. If you use computer personalization (not at all necessary, but very helpful), too much can come across as insincere or phony.

Finally, you must have an easy-to-understand reply form and business reply envelope (BRE). Always re-state the major point of your appeal on the reply form. What is the problem and your proposed solution? What should the donor do?

Always ask for specific amounts of money, and tie the dollar amounts to specific projects if you can. Don't ask for \$15 if your donor can afford \$100 and vice versa. Always include "Other" as a contribution option. And be sure to give a deadline, on your reply and in your letter, that is not too far from, nor too close to, the date your letter is received. Somewhere between 20 and 30 days later is about right.

In addition to "Make Your Check Payable To:" language on your reply form, make sure to include your

group's return address. There should also be space for the donor to fill in his own name and address if you haven't personalized the form. And don't forget the Gazinta Principle: if done correctly, your reply "gazinta" your reply envelope without any difficulty.

Use lists of all your previous contributors, as well as past donors to similar organizations, campaigns, church groups, etc., who will give you permission to use their lists (ALWAYS ASK!). Once a person contributes to your group, file their name carefully. Plan to solicit as many as 8-10 donations per year from them. Not everyone will give every time. But by remaining in constant contact with your donors, they will see evidence of your group's effective activity. Also, thank every donor promptly and graciously.

A good direct mail program can raise half to 75% of the annual budget for a local grassroots group. When I was Chairman of the Fairfax County Young Republicans, I personally raised our year's budget of \$7,000 largely through direct mail. I am helping several of our Northern Virginia conservative candidates raise money through direct mail in this year's local elections, and our efforts have been successful so far.

Your group's direct mail success cannot be guaranteed, but you can do a lot to put yourself ahead in the competition for charitable contributions. Don't re-invent the wheel. Simply follow the bouncing ball and duplicate what others have successfully done before you. A strong fundraising program allows you to pursue your group's goals more effectively because you will have the resources to win!

Scott E. Huch is a professional copywriter working in Falls Church, Virginia. A native of Illinois, Huch is treasurer of a conservative political action committee and serves on the Executive Board of Virginia's largest Young Republican club. He is active with the Direct Marketing Association of Washington and is a frequent lecturer on direct mail, membership recruitment, and other topics.

NETWORKING

- Coalitions for America, 717 Second Street, N.E., Washington, DC 20002 (202)546-3003 (contact Eric Licht)
- Terry Allen, Resource Institute of Oklahoma, 26 N.W. 7th Street, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73102 (405) 239-6700

LIBRARY COURT LIVE NETWORK

If you are interested in participating in Library Court Live, please contact the individual or group nearest you. Contacts for the Library Court Live satellite network include:

- Alabama Family Alliance, P.O. Box 59692, Birmingham, Alabama 35259 (205) 870-9900 (contact Michael Ciamarra or Gary Palmer)
- Arizona Family Research Institute, 3550 N. Central, Suite 1025, Phoenix, Arizona 85012 (602) 277-5181 (contact Trent Franks)
- Evergreen Freedom Foundation, P.O. Box 552, Olympia, Washington 98507 (206) 352-1842 (contact Bob Williams)
- Expectant Mother Care, 210 E. 23rd Street, Suite 5-R, New York, New York 10010, (212) 695-1940 (contact Chris Slattery)
- Family Concerns Coalition, N96 W18221 County Line Road, Menomonee Falls, Wisconsin 53051 (414) 251-9440 (contact Craig Parshall)
- Indiana Family Institute, 300 N. Meridian Street, Suite 910, Indianapolis, Indiana 46204 (317) 237-2959 (contact Bill Smith)
- Indiana Policy Review, 6919 Forest Glen, Fort Wayne, Indiana 46815 (219) 493-3971 (contact Rick Hawks)
- Pennsylvania Family Institute, P.O. Box 220, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania 17108 (717) 236-2212 (contact Michael Greer)
- Traditional Values Coalition, 100 S. Anaheim Boulevard, Suite 350, Anaheim, California 92805 (714) 520-0300 (contact Lou Sheldon)
- Utah Association of Women, 5141 Clover Meadow, Murray, Utah 84123 (801) 266-0076 (contact Susan Roylace)
- Women's Lobby, 2311 Capital Avenue, Sacramento, California 95816 (916) 368-4355 (contact Barbara Alby)
- Patricia Bainbridge, 50 Audubon Drive, Snyder, New York 14226 (716) 839-5050
- Councilman Keith Butler, Detroit City Council, 1340 City-County Building, Detroit, Michigan 48226 (313) 224-1309
- LeRoy Corey, 815 Main Street, Cedar Falls, Iowa 50613 (319) 277-3775
- Greg Culross, 5213 Burgis, Grand Rapids, Michigan 49508 (616) 538-7052
- Matthew Harnest, 1506A Matthews Lane, Austin, Texas 78745 (512) 447-7031
- Carole Griffin, 117 1/2 South Monroe Street, P.O. Box 12968, Tallahassee, Florida (904) 893-1843
- Patrick Vollmer, 360 Patrician Way, Pasadena, California 91105 (818) 795-9811
- Jim Zbach, 5005 Zuck Road, #140, Erie, Pennsylvania 16506 (814) 452-3100 or (814) 452-3100 x3048

STUDYING HOW TO WIN

- Morton Blackwell, President, The Leadership Institute, 8001 Braddock Road, Suite 502, Springfield, Virginia 22151 (703) 321-8580

DIRECT MAIL MAKES THE GRASSROOTS GREENER

- Scott Huch, 2770 Stone Hollow Drive, Vienna, Virginia 22180

EMPOWERMENT!

The editors and columnists can be reached at the Free Congress Foundation, 717 Second Street, NE, Washington, DC 20002; 202/546-3000 (FAX: 202/546-7689). We encourage your calls, letters and submissions to EMPOWERMENT!

Learning from EMPOWERMENT!

EMPOWERMENT! is a publication for the conservative citizen. It is a publication designed to educate and inspire grassroots activists to take on the entrenched interests who use government to erode and not affirm our nation's values.

The importance of the grassroots in the conservative strategy cannot be overestimated. Conservatism's strength lies not in government — for there we are outmatched — but in the people. No amount of lobbying, policy-making, and polemicizing by conservatives within government will, by itself, change government. Conservatives working in Washington, DC and the state capitols will consistently fail to advance our agenda of fiscal responsibility and cultural preservation without the powerful voice of the grassroots echoing in the halls of power. To put it as simply as possible, conservatism is the grassroots. Without the spark of citizen activism, conservatism and all we stand for will wither away.

That is why there is this newsletter called EMPOWERMENT! It is there to help the citizen activist wage a successful struggle against the big-spenders, the pornographers, the corrupt politicians, and the unresponsive bureaucrats.

Past editions of EMPOWERMENT! are already replete with such examples. Take for instance the story of Richard Ford, a Dallas consultant turned citizen activist. Long involved in conservative activities in Washington, Ford rightfully decided the Lone Star State needed its own conservative group. Ford's Texas Conservative Coalition is a perfect example of the "inside/outside" organizational model. The coalition combines state legislators working from the "inside" and citizen groups working from the "outside." The coalition proved its worth when it derailed a bill that would have virtually ended home-

Paul M. Weyrich

schooling. The legislators introduced the necessary killer amendments which were assured of approval after thousands of citizens in the coalition phoned in their support.

To borrow another example from a previous issue, there is

the poignant tale of pro-life activist Steve Baldwin. Tired of the socially-liberal politicians dominating San Diego politics, Baldwin decided to get conservatives elected for a change. After wresting control of the local Republican party from the liberal faction, Baldwin recruited 90 pro-life candidates for everything from the city council to the water board and 52 won election. This pro-life coalition succeeded so brilliantly because it mobilized the large but dormant conservative electorate. By identifying the hundreds of pro-life churches in the San Diego area, distributing campaign flyers at their Sunday services, placing ads in Christian newspapers, and conducting mass mailings, the heretofore untapped conservative voters finally found out they had a choice.

In just the last issue of EMPOWERMENT!, we saw countless examples of a more flamboyant activism in operation. As part of the Taxpayer Action Day nationwide protests, 250

demonstrators in St. Louis staged a mock trial with Congress as the defendant. The jury found the institution guilty on all counts of wasteful spending and unnecessary tax hikes - all of this in front of Rep. Richard Gephardt's office. Boston protesters distributed tea bags to remind participants of the tea party.

This is only a handful of what EMPOWERMENT! has to offer. The suggestions you send in will be more than matched by the strategies, information, and tips EMPOWERMENT! sends out. Signing up for EMPOWERMENT! is the first step in a successful grassroots effort. □

NEXT MONTH ...

Success by other means

Anti-tax activist Ted Dykes and Dan Brown provide case studies on how citizens can fight the system and win.

Profile

Michael Schwartz profiles Detroit City Councilman Keith Butler, who has proved that conservative ideas can work in an urban area.

Paul Weyrich

The publisher discusses ways to empower cities.

Also

Find out answers to frequently asked public policy questions.

PUBLIC INTEREST PROFILES

Free Congress Foundation, Inc. (1977)

717 Second Street, NE
Washington, D.C. 20002
Phone: (202) 546-3000
Fax: (202) 546-7689

"To promote traditional values, responsive government, and a strong America."

PURPOSE

30 total—25 professional; 5 support; plus 10 interns and 10 part-time staff

STAFF

Paul M. Weyrich, president. Weyrich is also national chairman of Coalitions for America. He is a writer, public policy specialist, and political activist who has been on the Washington scene for twenty-five years.

DIRECTOR

501(c)(3)

TAX STATUS

1990—\$4.0 million
Proposed 1991—\$4.1 million

BUDGET

Foundations, 50 percent; individuals, 20 percent; corporations, 15 percent; rent and other, 15 percent

FUNDING SOURCES

Members: N/A
Branches/chapters: N/A
Affiliates: N/A

SCOPE

Free Congress Political Action Committee

PAC

Awards program	Library/information	METHOD OF OPERATION
Campaign contributions	clearinghouse	
Conferences/seminars	Media outreach	
Congressional testimony	Research	
Congressional voting analysis	Speakers program	
Films/videotapes/audiotapes	Training and technical assistance	
International activities		
Legislative/regulatory monitoring (federal and state)		

CURRENT CONCERNS

The Free Congress Foundation has eleven research divisions

- Center for Competitiveness
- Center for Conservative Governance
- Center for Cultural Conservatism
- Center for Fiscal Responsibility
- Center for Foreign Policy
- Center for Freedom and Democracy
- Center for Government and Politics
- Center for Law and Democracy
- Center for Social Policy
- Center for State Policy
- Center for Transportation and Urban Studies

PUBLICATIONS

Ninth Justice: The Fight for Bork

NEWSLETTER

Empowerment! (monthly)
Essays on Our Times (occasionally)
Policy Insights (occasionally)
Policy Insights—Freedom and Democracy Series (2 times a month)
Spotlight on Congress (6 times a year)
Weyrich Insider (12 times a year)

CONFERENCES

Federal Classroom and State Classroom sessions (designed to “equip conservatives in the administration for effective participation in policy development”)
National and international conferences

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

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EFFECTIVENESS

“... Conservative leader Paul Weyrich, who sometimes provides political counsel to [President Bush’s] senior advisers.” (*Washington Times*, December 28, 1990)

“... The Kriebel Foundation recently approached [Free Congress Foundation president] Paul Weyrich, perhaps the ablest nuts-and-bolts political operator active in the conservative movement, and asked him to lead a task force to train interested individuals in Eastern Europe in the fine points of Western-style politicking.” (William Rusher, *Washington Times*, January 3, 1990)

“Though less well-known than some of the noisy self-promoters on the

right, [Free Congress Foundation president Paul] Weyrich swings as much weight through his personal standing and his organizational network as anyone from that part of the political spectrum. After Weyrich's testimony about John Tower's drinking habits helped sink Tower's nomination as secretary of defense, President Bush thought it prudent to send Weyrich a note saying that there were no hard feelings. That is clout." (David S. Broder, *Washington Post*, December 3, 1989)

"When we left Paul M. Weyrich, he had just undermined President George Bush's first choice for secretary of defense. Now he has decided to rebuild the American conservative movement from the bottom up. . . .

"That sounds unlikely, but it is no less plausible than the undoing of John G. Tower, the former Republican senator from Texas, rejected by the Senate for secretary of defense last winter after a controversy that surfaced when Mr. Weyrich accused him of misbehaving with women and whiskey. He said his testimony against another conservative stemmed from concern about Mr. Tower's character and about leadership at the Pentagon.

"Mr. Weyrich says he is asked about the Tower episode at his organizing and fund-raising appearances for his Free Congress Foundation, but that other conservatives haven't been critical, only curious. Nor, he said, have there been any lingering problems in his contacts with the White House.

"And conservative business seems to be thriving. Mr. Weyrich's organization raised \$3.34 million . . . and has just expanded its row of small office buildings near the foot of Capitol Hill. . . ." (Walter Mears, *Washington Times*, October 16, 1989)

"Mr. [Paul] Weyrich is one of those self-created Washington phenomena whom everyone agrees is important, though most have trouble defining exactly what it is he does. 'What is Paul Weyrich?' asked R. Emmett Tyrell Jr., the conservative columnist, in an interview. 'Is he a lobbyist? Is he a politician? Is he a writer? Is he a philosopher? Is he a theologian?'

"The confusion may stem from Mr. Weyrich's titles, because he has so many. He is president of the Free Congress Research and Education Foundation, a research group [in Washington, D.C.]. He is national chairman of the Free Congress Political Action Committee. And, he is national chairman of Coalitions for America. He founded these organizations . . . [and] was also a founder of the Heritage Foundation, now one of Washington's most influential public-policy research groups. . . .

"In effect, Mr. Weyrich runs a vertically integrated political operation that claims to have an annual budget of \$5 million. The tax-exempt Free Congress Foundation generates conservative ideas and publishes a respected nonpartisan newsletter on Congressional elections. The Political Action Committee helps elect conservatives who will support the foundation's ideas. Coalitions for America is a network that agitates for the cause at the grass roots.

"There is considerable dispute on the Right over what Mr. Weyrich accomplishes with his organizations. 'I don't know what he has to show for the money,' said [Roger Stone, a Republican political consultant,] who says for attribution what some other conservatives will only say off the record. 'Which U.S. Senator has he helped to elect? Which Governor?'

"Mr. Stone argued that Mr. Weyrich's influence stems mainly from his

ability to get quoted in the press and on television. 'He screams and gets covered,' said Mr. Stone.

"But Burton Yale Pines, vice president of the Heritage Foundation, echoes others on the Right in calling Mr. Weyrich 'a master of grass-roots strategy and tactics' who has not only helped elect candidates, but has also played an important role in shifting the tone of the national debate to the Right." (*New York Times*, March 16, 1989)

POLITICAL ORIENTATION

"A conservative lobbying group." (*New York Times*, April 10, 1990)

"The conservative movement, much like Michael Dukakis' famous fish, may well be rotting from the head—that is to say, Washington—first. That is probably not the way Paul Weyrich would put it. But it is the sense one gets from reading between the lines of a memo issued to a few select sources by Mr. Weyrich that certainly adds weight to speculation in this column that big changes are in store for the various entities under his control.

"According to a copy of the memo supplied to this column, Mr. Weyrich's 'Free Congress Foundation is uniquely positioned to lead the effort to rebuild the [conservative] movement.'

"The eight-page memo talks about conservative victories of the 1970s and early '80s, and the resultant 'intoxication of Washington. . . .'

"Thus the conservative movement got cut off from the grass roots. The move to Washington by so many organizations resulted in a decline in our ability to push buttons and light up lights over large parts of America,' Mr. Weyrich says in the memo.

"That situation was not good for Mr. Weyrich: 'To say it . . . was not received well in Washington would be an understatement.' So Mr. Weyrich has decided to abandon the sinful city. . . .

"Based on the perception of a hunger for a system of values and method of action at the grass roots akin to his own ideas, Mr. Weyrich says he is taking his efforts back to those who had been abandoned. . . ." (*Washington Times*, September 26, 1989)

"A conservative research group." (*Wall Street Journal*, May 5, 1989)

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EXHIBIT 8

Voters Get Tuned In to Power

By Shawn Miller



Summary: Paul Weyrich's National Empowerment Television network is young but already making its mark. It aims to steer people away from political apathy and toward political influence — and not just in presidential elections.

Peter Brown has seen the future of American politics, and he saw it on television — satellite television, to be exact.

A contributing editor to *OnSat* magazine, Brown argues that "the limited degree of participation by the American electorate" makes the time ripe for considering drastic changes in the political system. Translation: wider use of his favorite technology, the parabolic TV dish.

Brown, who also is the founder, publicist and ranking member of the Parabolic Party, is mystified that politicians have been slow to grasp the potential of the new electronic environment offered by satellite technology. And he is convinced that "narrowcasting" — specialty programs beamed to select audiences — can shake the American people out of their political funk, keep them better

informed and offer them more direct access to an influence on national politicians.

In a small studio in the basement of the Free Congress Foundation in Washington, Brown's future is Paul Weyrich's present. A year and a half ago — before Ross Perot's talk of electronic town hall meetings — the conservative activist launched his National Empowerment Television network as an experiment in "interactive political television." Each month since then, groups of up to 150 faithful activists in congressional districts around the country (now 91 of them and counting) have gathered at a site with a satellite dish equipped to receive NET's signal. What they see is an hour-long hybrid of *Larry King Live* and the political strategy meetings Weyrich has been hosting with conservative leaders in Washington for the past 20 years.

The basic format of the telecast is *inspiration, then action*. Studio and call-in interviews of big-name politicians such as Secretary of Education Lamar Alexander, Rep. Newt Gingrich of Georgia and Sen. Phil Gramm of Texas fill the first 30 minutes of each show. The second half is devoted to advice on how viewers can influence their elected officials.

"The general purpose of NET is to involve people in changing America,"

says Weyrich, president of the Free Congress Foundation. "We have a tremendous amount of anger and frustration out there, and it has to be directed properly or it will go to waste."

Former Secretary of Education William Bennett, who signed on as chairman of the NET board of directors in June and is a frequent guest on the shows, sees the network as reviving a "conversation between the governors and the governed."

To make the conversation easier to follow, NET has broken its telecasts down into four programs, each of which airs once a month:

- *Empowerment Outreach Live*, which focuses on tax reform, competitiveness, wasteful government spending and legislative reform. A recent guest was Sen. Bob Smith of New Hampshire, who appeared on the "action item" half of the show to push his debt reduction plan that would allow taxpayers to earmark up to 10 percent of their income tax each year for debt reduction. Cohost Weyrich pitched in, asking viewers to call their congressmen and urge support for Smith's bill.

- *Family Forum Live*, focusing on "traditional family values" — encompassing a wide variety of issues from school choice to abortion. During the September episode Rep. Dana Roh-



Weyrich (left) and Bennett say Bush's bad standing has helped their network.

abacher of California called for a viewer boycott of Levi Strauss and Wells Fargo, two companies that recently withdrew charitable support of the Boy Scouts for refusing to employ homosexual scoutmasters.

• *A Second Look Live*, which offers an outlet and support system for black conservatives. The NET program of which Weyrich is proudest, *A Second Look* was born in the aftermath of the Clarence Thomas confirmation hearings last October. Weyrich "felt that the coalition that had been brought together during the hearings shouldn't be allowed to dissolve," says Phyllis Berry Myers, the show's producer. With "action items" such as a protest of Sister Souljah's appearance at Black Expo '92 in Indianapolis and support for the boycott of Time Warner in response to Ice-T's song "Cop Killer," Myers wants her audience to take a second look at "the line of thinking the black community has been told is in our best interests, when in fact it is not." She describes the response as "overwhelming." Weyrich has tentative plans to start a similar telecast for Mexican-Americans next year.

• *Campus Connection Live*, debuting Oct. 8, will concentrate on concerns such as the effect of the "isms" (multiculturalism, feminism, envi-

ronmentalism) on higher education. Producer Molly Baldwin, only a year out of Boston College, hopes the show will offer the same sense of camaraderie to campus conservatives that *Second Look* offers black conservatives. "Every campus has students and professors who don't go along with the politically correct agenda that is being pushed on them and will suffer socially and academically if they are outspoken about their beliefs," Baldwin says. Ten campus outlets have been lined up for this academic year, including ones at the University of Maine, Pennsylvania State University and Pepperdine University.

Though word of NET and its programs hasn't spread far beyond the ears of its participants, there have been flashes of potency of the sort Weyrich is looking for. A few days after a *Family Forum Live* show in February that saw guest Constance Horner, director of presidential personnel, endure a barrage of caller complaints about the National Endowment for the Arts and its contro-

versial grants, President Bush fired NEA Chairman John Frohnmayer. Though NET staffers play down the network's role in the dismissal, at the time White House officials suggested that Horner and her appearance on the show were crucial to the president's action.

The network's part in a July 1991 decision by Secretary of Health and Human Services Louis Sullivan to cancel an \$18 million sex survey of American teens is more obvious. Appearing on NET, Sullivan was shocked when Bob Baldwin, president of the Michigan Association of Christian Schools, confronted him with the HHS survey, which would have asked more than 20,000 junior high school and high school students about their sexual experiences. Sullivan had been unaware of the survey; within two days it was canceled.

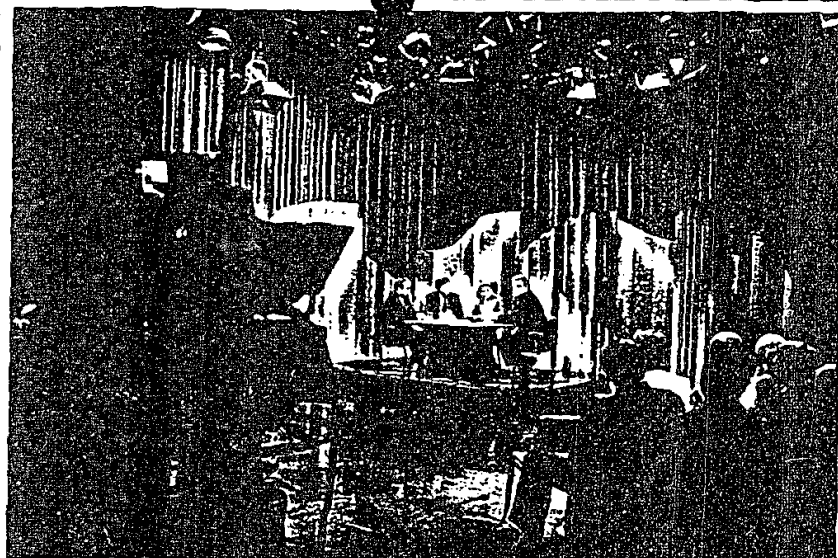
It also appears that NET had a behind-the-scenes role in the Clarence Thomas/Aiuita Hill melodrama. Though he will not divulge names, Weyrich says NET was directly responsible for the pro-Thomas votes of senators from two Western states. "We flooded their offices with over 2,000 phone calls in two days," he says. "One of them met with our affiliate in his state and asked, 'What do I have to do to call off the dogs?'" The answer was obvious: Vote for confirmation. In a rare public appearance, Thomas went on *Second Look Live* in July to thank the network for its support.

Secretary of Education Alexander has adapted the idea of satellite networking for his department's America 2000 project — a program fostering innovation in public school organization. "I was looking for a way to give more consistent support to all the communities trying to change their schools," says Alexander, who

has appeared on NET five times. "When Paul invited me to be a part of his network, his idea rang a bell, and I thought to myself, 'Maybe we ought to take a closer look at this.'" There have been four America 2000 Satellite Town Meetings, reaching almost 1,000 communities.

Satisfied that it has a successful format, NET has moved to widen its influence. On Sept. 15, Wisconsin Empowerment Network Television

"Every campus has students and professors who don't go along with the politically correct agenda and will suffer if they are outspoken."



In Wisconsin, WENT follows the national model but focuses on state issues.

made its debut from a public television studio in Madison. With 10 remote locations across the state where viewers can receive the signal, WENT functions in much the same fashion as the national show, except the celebrity guests and action items center on statewide issues.

"WENT is [an important] step forward," says Michael Schwartz, who frequently cohosts the national program with Weyrich. Schwartz sees the move to state and local issues as a natural next step for NET. "More of the government policy that actually affects the day-to-day lives of real people takes place on a state level than on a national level."

NET wheeled in the big guns for the inaugural WENT broadcast. Both Weyrich and Bennett spent the night in Madison, appearing on the local show and a national one that followed. They also used the occasion to honor Wisconsin Gov. Tommy Thompson, somewhat of a cult hero among conservatives for his successful welfare reform and school choice initiatives.

The Wisconsin show, too, had its "action items": There was a pitch from Partners Advancing Values in Education, a privately funded Milwaukee group that promotes school choice by providing vouchers to poor students for private school tuition. And James Silver of the Wisconsin Association of Non Public Schools touted a bill that would provide tax credits to parents who want to send their children to private school.

Weyrich sees the national programming, which follows the Wisconsin show, as a "tremendous drawing card" for this and future state systems. With the lure of celebrities in

the second hour, more people will show up for the first hour of state issues. Steve Knutson, who coordinates the La Crosse affiliate of WENT, says the group of a dozen, curious souls who gathered at Western Wisconsin Technical College to watch the first broadcast were "especially attracted to the idea that you had these high-profile political folks who you could just pick up the phone and have direct access to."

A city Republican Party official, Knutson also sees WENT as a public relations coup. Because the program offers "people a chance to feel more politically involved," Knutson thinks WENT will help him organize people who would otherwise be apathetic. "This is going to bring a lot of people" into the Republican fold, he predicts.

Weyrich, however, believes the potential impact of NET is less immediately partisan. While he suspects interest in NET has been spurred by the unhappiness in conservative circles with George Bush, he points out that one of the goals of his group is to wean the electorate from the notion that political activism begins and ends with voting for a president. "We want to convince [the voters] that they need to be active in the long term, not just for two months every four years," he says. "If we can take this far enough, then it won't matter who is in power."

Bennett also believes the fact that "conservatives are very upset with the Bush administration" is at least partially responsible for NET's quick start, but he adds to the equation "a general discontent with Congress"

and public reaction to a "crisis in the social and moral values in our country."

Both Weyrich and Bennett take care to speak of potential rather than achievement, noting that NET is still in its infancy. "We have potentially a very powerful instrument for reform," says Bennett, "but its continued success is not inevitable." The Sullivan and Thomas examples aside, NET is not yet a prime-time player in the Washington influence game. Sen. Larry Craig of Idaho, who has appeared on the network twice, says "it is going to take some time" before the mention of NET throws fear into the hearts of his colleagues.

But the exploding technology of satellite communications, which should see smaller and cheaper dishes, promises wider availability. Expansion will bring higher costs; each new viewing site carries a \$2,500 price tag for NET, and the network's \$2.1 million annual budget is projected to double by 1997. While the bulk of NET's startup expenses have been covered by a Free Congress Foundation special projects fund and private donations, Weyrich hopes an advertising campaign that's in the works will drum up additional support.

Assuming success in that area, NET is planning for a future that would include affiliates in all 435 congressional districts, remote and overseas broadcasts, NET news and debate programs, and movement into the cable market. There is also optimism regarding further activities in the states, with Georgia poised to follow Wisconsin as the next state affiliate.

Brown of the Parabolic Party stretches the possibilities beyond even those that Weyrich is considering. The party platform's major plank calls for a telecommunications system that would let congressmen interact through satellite linkups from their home districts, putting them closer to their constituents and farther from Capitol Hill's lobbyists and special interest groups.

Unfortunately for satellite enthusiasts, the fact that NET has not inspired any imitation networks (except for Alexander's educational spinoff) belies any visions of a dispersed Congress. Weyrich, for one, would welcome the challenge of competition — even from the liberal side of the fence. "The more people involved in the discussion, the better," he says. "That's the whole point of what we are trying to accomplish." ♦

The dawn of satellite politics

If you were just zapping through regular television fare last Wednesday night, you would never have seen it. But if you had special equipment—a dish equipped to receive Ku-band transmissions, pointed 99 degrees west, aimed at SBS 6, Transponder 15—you would have witnessed something truly different: the creation of a new politics in America.

For 20 years, Paul Weyrich has served as a spark plug for conservative activists in Washington, D.C., drawing them together on a regular basis to plot strategy. A year ago, he decided to take his meetings out of the back room and into grass-roots America. The result is "National Empowerment Television," a pioneering attempt to link high technology with a growing hunger among people outside Washington to seize control again.

Through a series of televised programs, NET has already become a potent new force, and if you saw it in action last week, you could easily see why. The show was staged in a row house in northeast Washington, home of the Free Congress Foundation, which Weyrich heads. By satellite, it was beamed into 65 communities, where groups of 40 to 150 local conservatives—about 40 percent of them Democratic—gathered before specially equipped TV sets. Through an 800 telephone number, each group could call in and talk live with Weyrich, show co-host Michael Schwartz and guests.

For half an hour, social activists lined up to tell the audience how to help in attacking "hot" issues. Abortion opponent Patricia Bainbridge, for example, urged viewers to step up a boycott of companies giving funds to Planned Parenthood, "the largest single provider of abortions." Her attacks would infuriate liberals, but what she wants is results, and she's getting them: She says 22 big companies, including AT&T, have cut off contributions.

Populist technology. The evening's *pièce de résistance* was Education Secretary Lamar Alexander, who spent 45 minutes fielding questions and listening to complaints about the country's schools and morals. Ever sensitive to populist politics—he may be in the thick of the 1996 presidential contest—Alexander was making his third appearance on NET. So fascinated has he been that he is trying to set up his own separate network tying together communities pledged to the administration's education reforms.

How strong is National Empowerment Television? Powerful enough that a parade of cabinet officers and

senators has quietly trekked before cameras; Dick Cheney is due in May, and Richard Nixon has agreed to come later. "There is a real, perceptible impact in the White House and on Capitol Hill when they focus on an issue," says a Bush adviser, who adds that anger expressed by participants in a show earlier this year was a major spur in the president's decision to fire John Frohnmayer, chief of the National Endowment for the Arts.

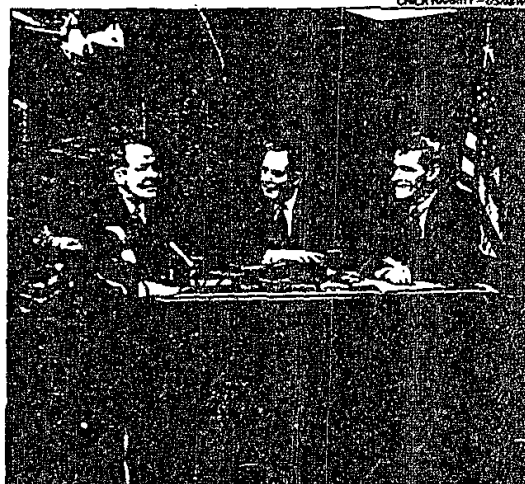
The headiest moment for NET, says Weyrich, was the Supreme Court confirmation of Clarence Thomas. For months, participants in his teleconferences worked to help Thomas. Then, at a crucial moment, people in Western states collared two wavering Democrats, verbally beating up one of them. "We got both votes," Weyrich is convinced. So, apparently, is Thomas. The new justice has turned down all requests for speeches and interviews, but he has made one exception: an appearance on NET to thank the participants.

Weyrich now broadcasts three shows a month and is building rapidly. The biggest is for social conservatives, another for economic conservatives, the latest—and most intriguing—for blacks. Energized by the Thomas fight, black groups in 12 cities now talk about ways of preserving families and neighborhoods. "They don't want to be quiet anymore," exults Phyllis Berry Myers, recruited to put together the program after her testimony on behalf of Thomas.

America won't be quiet anymore, either. Interactive television is not a new technology;

corporations like Wal-Mart and J. C. Penney as well as TV call-in hosts have used it for several years. But Weyrich & Co. are the first to put its magic behind a political movement. While many will strenuously object to its agenda, National Empowerment Television actually accomplishes something deeper that is altogether healthy: It is reconnecting citizens to each other and to their leaders.

There is a lesson here for left as well as right. Bring together groups of angry Americans, let them talk directly to their public servants, let them share ideas with each other—and soon the discontent so pervasive in the land can turn into direct political action. In an earlier age, a James Madison would have worried about the prospects of mob rule, but in today's fragmented and fractious politics, there is much to be said for building new coalitions and a new sense of community. Can it be long before Common Cause has a channel, too?

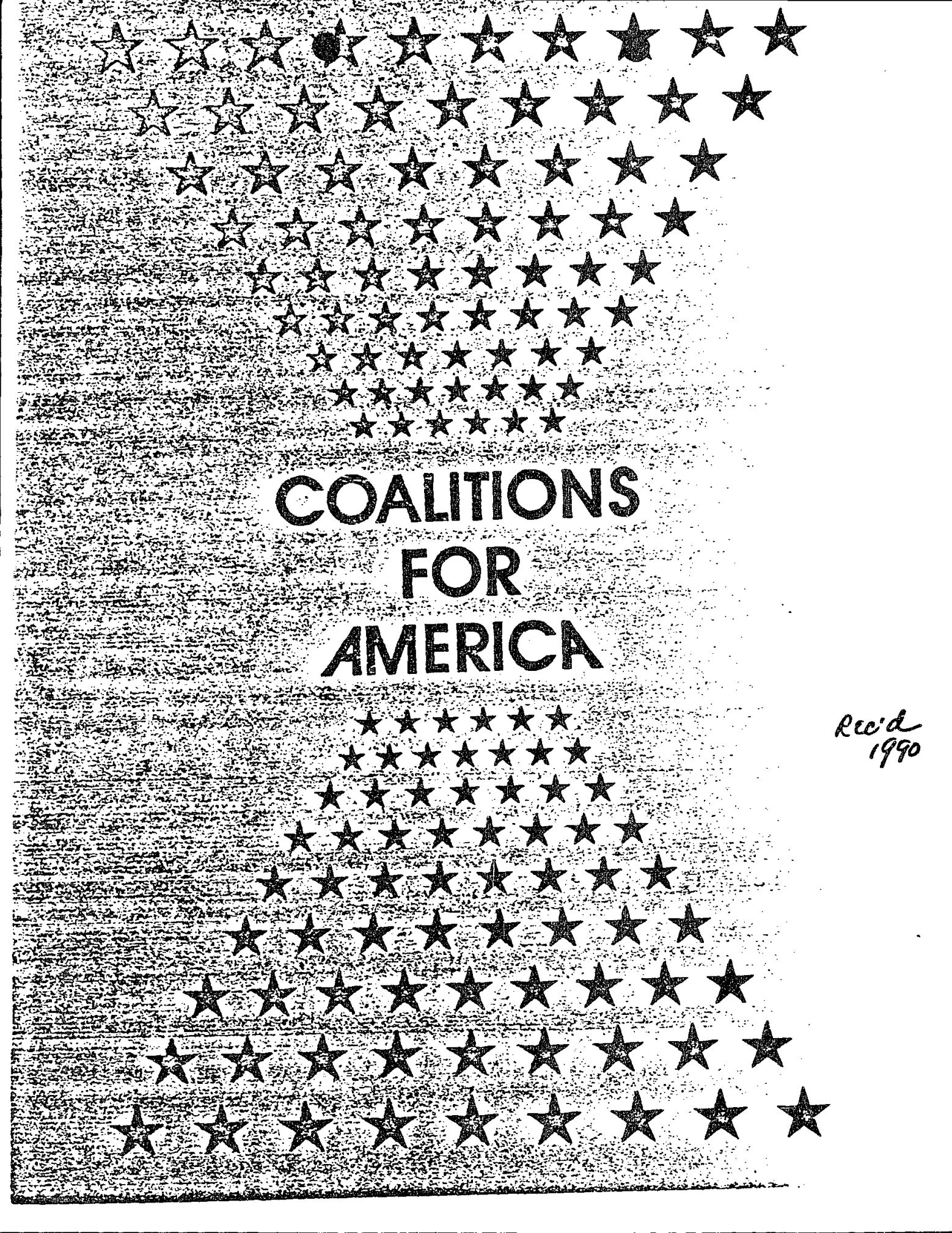


Empowerers. Alexander, Weyrich and Schwartz

'Weyrich decided to take his meetings out of the back room and into grass-roots America.'

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EXHIBIT 9



COALITIONS FOR AMERICA

Rec'd
1990

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Coalitions for America

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Washington, D.C. 20002
202-546-3003

2010-04-23 10:00

History



Paul M. Weyrich

think tanks such as the Heritage Foundation and the Free Congress Foundation which provided issue bulletins on foreign, economic, and social policy to members of Congress who till this point had primarily relied on the public policy papers of The Brookings Institute, a liberal think tank. This was an important development in helping conservative leaders shape the policy agenda.

Along with the creation of the "inside" conservative structures in the U.S. House of Representatives and the Senate, during the decade of the late 70's there was an emergence of numerous "outside" conservative groups working on various defense, economic, and social issues. We began to hold our first coalition meetings in 1972. The meetings were originally run ad hoc and then backed by the Free Congress Pac.

During the 1970's we conservatives also recognized the success of the liberal's informal group, Democratic Study Group. The DSG was formed by liberal members of Congress in the 1950's to get their members to pool resources to create a permanent staff to concentrate on critical legislative policy formulations. This proved to be an effective vehicle for liberal members of the House. It also was a central unifying unit for the left. This being the case, in the early 1970's conservatives established the Republican Study Committee for House conservative members and the Senate Steering Committee for conservative Senate members.

In 1977 we decided the time was ripe to form a specific organization that would function as the place where "inside" members of Congress and their staff along with the "outside" groups could meet on a regular basis to strategize on important legislation, nominations, and public policy matters. That organization was Coalitions for America.

Paul M. Weyrich

When I came to Washington in 1966 I assumed that conservative leaders inside and outside of Congress met together on a regular basis to strategize on important upcoming pieces of legislation. I was sadly mistaken that by and large this was not the case.

In 1969 while I was working for Senator Gordon Allott of Colorado, I had the opportunity of going to a meeting on civil rights issues. At that meeting I learned how the liberal opposition operated. They had the aides to all the Senators there, and they had the authority to commit their bosses to specific strategies. They had the representatives of foundations, which could supply data on this or that. They had a legal group. They had outside lobbying groups, and they could say, "We need some pressure when we get down the line, and if they come up with this amendment, we want the whole country alerted." And they had a couple of columnists who said, "I can write something, just give me the timing of it." At this meeting I learned the essential elements necessary to orchestrate a successful legislative battle. From that time onward I was determined to duplicate that effort on the right in Washington D.C.

In the 1970's, we conservatives set out to match the highly effective structures of the liberals. We set up conservative



Paul Weyrich and Coalitions for America participants meet with former President Ronald Reagan.

Coalitions for America

Today Coalitions for America has grown into a broad-based organization comprised of over 300 different business, defense and social issues groups. It is one of the primary meeting places in Washington D.C. where the nation's leaders come to call upon groups to get action taken on legislation, nominations and confirmations, or other public policy matters. The regular meetings of the groups feature speakers from the President's Cabinet, high Administration officials, members of Congress and leading public figures.

What makes Coalitions for America especially attractive to Washington's leaders is the distinctive format of the meetings. For each meeting a timely array of speakers is prepared for an action packed agenda. There is a set procedure that each meeting follows so that the maximum amount of action is committed to by the members. The speakers themselves, Senators, Congressmen, Administration officials and coalition members come prepared to talk briefly about their issues. Then they take questions from the coalition groups at the meeting. Once the questions are answered, the speaker presents a specific strategic action plan on their issues to the participating groups attending the meeting. At this point the Chairman of the meeting asks the participating groups for volunteers on the speakers request for action. No one is compelled to volunteer so each organization can maintain its freedom and integrity to act when it wants to. Ordinarily, each agenda item requires no more than 10 minutes, which means the meetings move along swiftly. The group participants who make the pledge to work on specific action requested by the speakers at the meetings are expected to keep their commitments to do so. The action pledges of individuals are recorded during the meeting. At the next subsequent meeting, the Chairman checks with the individuals to see if they have fulfilled their action item responsibilities. Regular attendance by the participating organization's decision makers is required at the meetings. This

gives the meetings continuity and the necessary people there who can commit their organizations to take specific action.

The Coalitions for America meeting format is successful and useful to all concerned. The meetings are off the record which means the speakers on the agenda can feel they can be totally candid in their approach to the group. The speakers themselves find the meeting useful because they know the group will take specific action with their particular legislative agenda. The participating groups in turn feel they are able to have impact with Congressional and Administration figures. The group also benefits because with a regular schedule of meetings each and every member has the opportunity at some point to present their agenda to the group for action. Every participating organization is expected to accept some action items, to make a commitment to carry out some specific action to advance some agenda issue. By member organizations helping each other on the differing agendas, the individual groups benefit by being a part of a coalition. In addition to the knowledge that each participating organization will have the opportunity of getting action on their own agenda, the group itself feels a sense of accomplishment with the meeting in advancing an overall agenda.

The coalition meeting action to be taken from specific agenda requests can

be as varied as personally lobbying of Congressmen on Capitol Hill, meeting with the White House, motivating thousands of grass roots supporters to call and write their representative or actively writing articles in the media and newsletters. Coalitions for America stands ready to take responsible action as issues arise. Additionally, Coalitions serves as an educational function, providing a forum for leaders to meet regularly and share ideas.

Coalitions for America is a growing dynamic organization with an ever increasing number of coalition groups and meetings. There are now over 30 regular different ongoing meetings a month. The coalition meetings include Kingston (economic and institutional issues), Library Court (social issues), Stanton (defense and foreign policy), Resistance Support Alliance (freedom fighter policy), The James Monroe Working Group (South American foreign policy), The Wednesday Lunch (strategy group of conservative leaders inside and outside of Congress), 721 Group (judicial and legal policy), The Omega Alliance (young activist coalition), The Siena Group for Catholic Policy and the Jewish/Conservative Alliance. With a growing diversity of coalition groups and meetings, Coalitions for America will be having more impact on the Washington legislative scene for years to come.

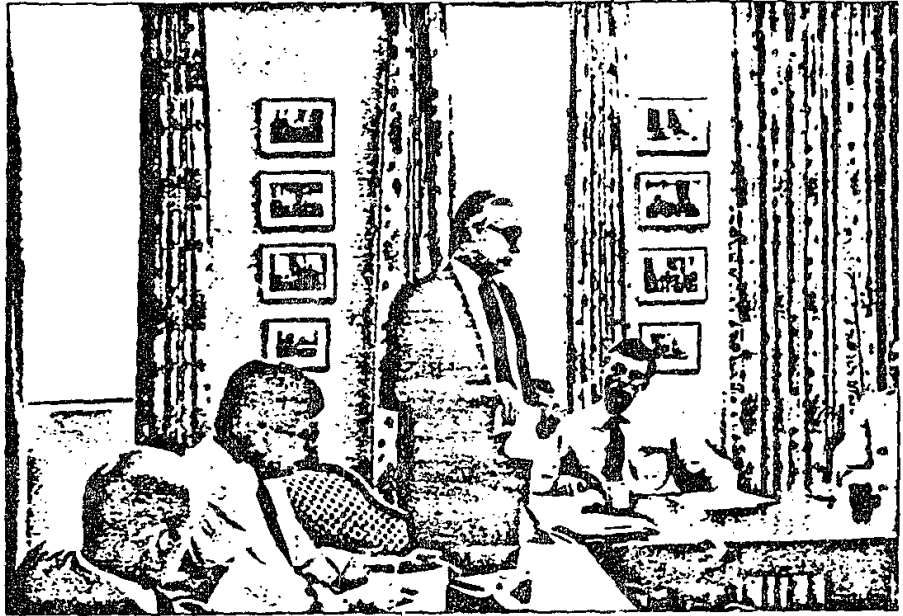


Coalitions for America meets with Vice President Dan Quayle and Lee Atwater, Chairman of the Republican National Committee.

The Kingston Group

The oldest of the coalitions, Kingston brings together representatives of a broad range of corporations, trade associations, small business, conservative and single-issue groups on a weekly basis. Although it began with a small number of conservative activists in 1972, it has grown since that time and now includes more than 40 organizations, all dedicated to the ideals of limited government and free enterprise.

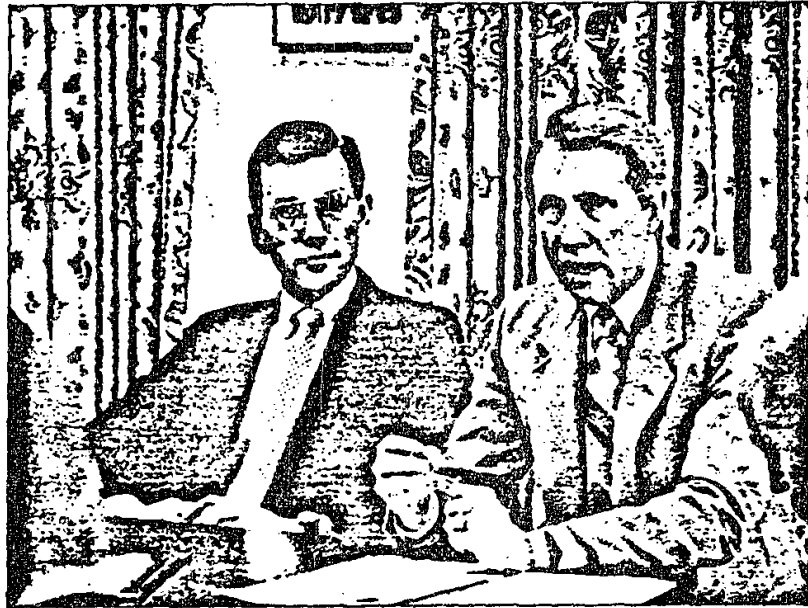
The Kingston meeting was the first original meeting where economic, defense, and social groups met. Kingston has been the successful prototype for other successful coalition meetings. During the end of the decade of the 1970's two new coalition groups emerged. The social issues groups formed a separate coalition meeting entitled Library Court and the defense and foreign policy groups developed a coalition meeting entitled Stanton.



Richard Rahn, Chief Economist of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, speaks at the Kingston meeting.

"Coalitions for America with its supporting groups has been a highly effective force for achieving limited government pro-market, pro-opportunity and pro-growth economic policies."

Richard Rahn
Chief Economist
U.S. Chamber of Commerce



Senator Harry Reid (D, Nevada) is the feature speaker at the Kingston meeting.

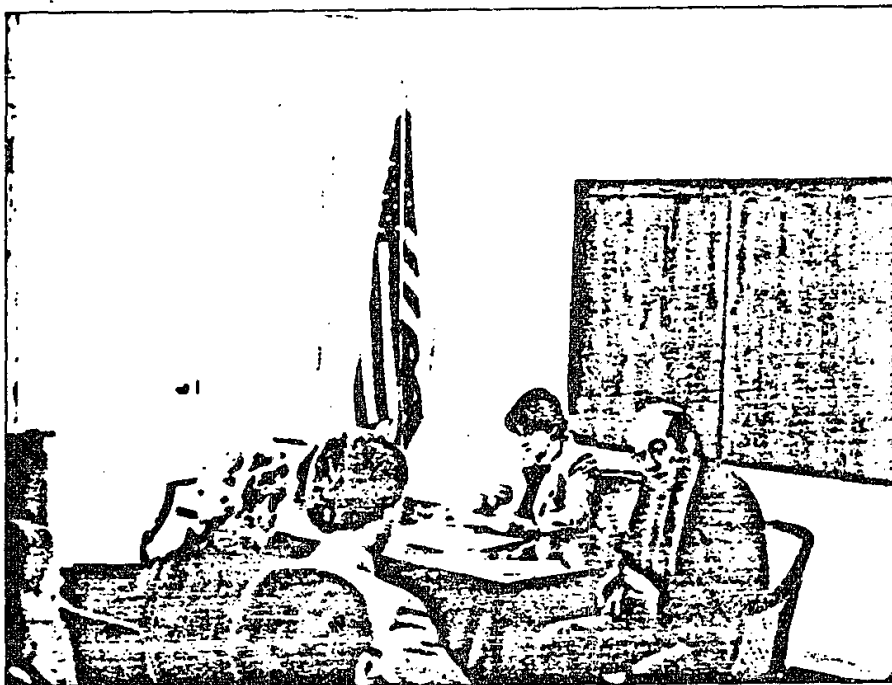
Today the focus of the Kingston meeting is domestic economic policy and institutional issues. The group meets every Friday. In the near future the Kingston Group will be involved with budget reform, tax policy, trade policy, labor policy and regulatory issues. The Kingston Group will also be looking at congressional reform of the institutional abuses.



Senator Pete Domenici (R, New Mexico) makes a point at the Kingston meeting.



Jack Kemp, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, addresses participants at the Kingston meeting.



Senator Phil Gramm (R, Texas) at Coalitions for America meeting.

The Library Court Group

Formed in 1979, this coalition seeks to coordinate the activities of the growing number of organizations concerned with family and social issues.

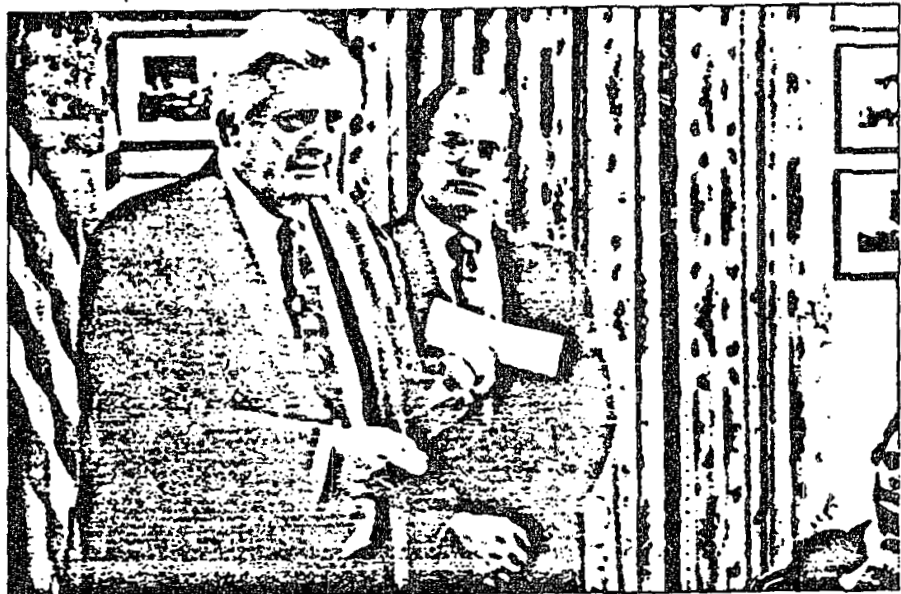
More than 50 separate entities now participate regularly in the Library Court Coalition, which meets every other week on Thursday morning. The aim is to work to protect the family and to promote social policies which support traditional values, such as the work ethic and a sense of individual responsibility.



William Bennett, Director of National Drug Control Policy, speaks before the Library Court Group.

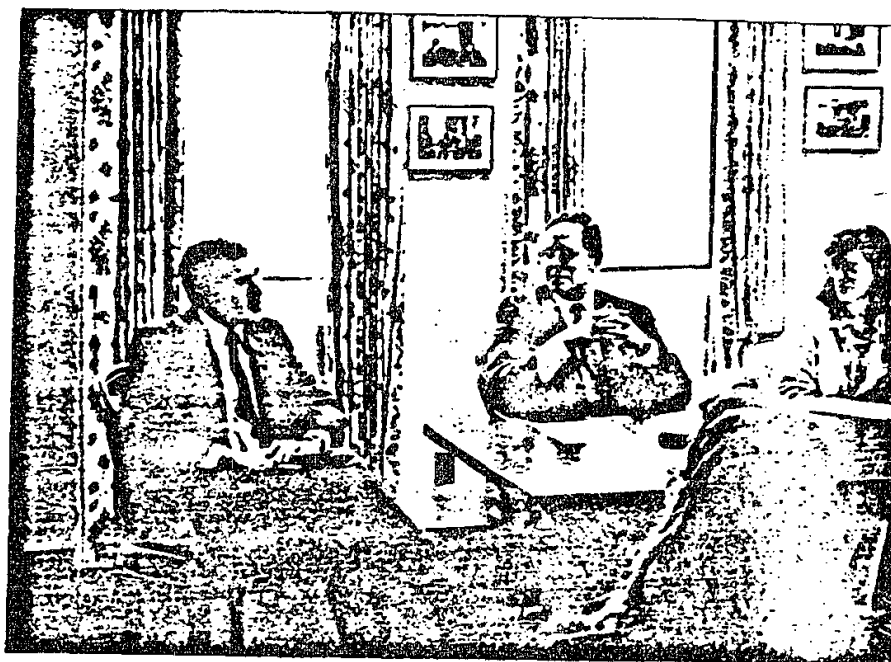
"Coalitions for America is more effective than just about any other group in Washington."

William Kristol
Assistant to the Vice President
for Domestic Policy



Library Court speakers Congressmen Henry Hyde (R, Illinois) and Vin Weber (R, Minnesota).

The Library Court Group is concerned with child care issues, drug policy, education, health care issues, and other important cultural issues affecting the nation. With mounting pressures in our society, the survivability of the American family is essential if we are to maintain our standard of civilization as we know it. The Library Court Group will be at the forefront in meeting the challenges facing today's family.



George Bush, Jr. addresses the Library Court Group as Kimberly Roberts, Director of Coalitions for America, and Paul Weyrich look on.



Kay James, Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs Department of Health and Human Services designate, meets with Paul Weyrich and Gary Bauer at the Library Court meeting.



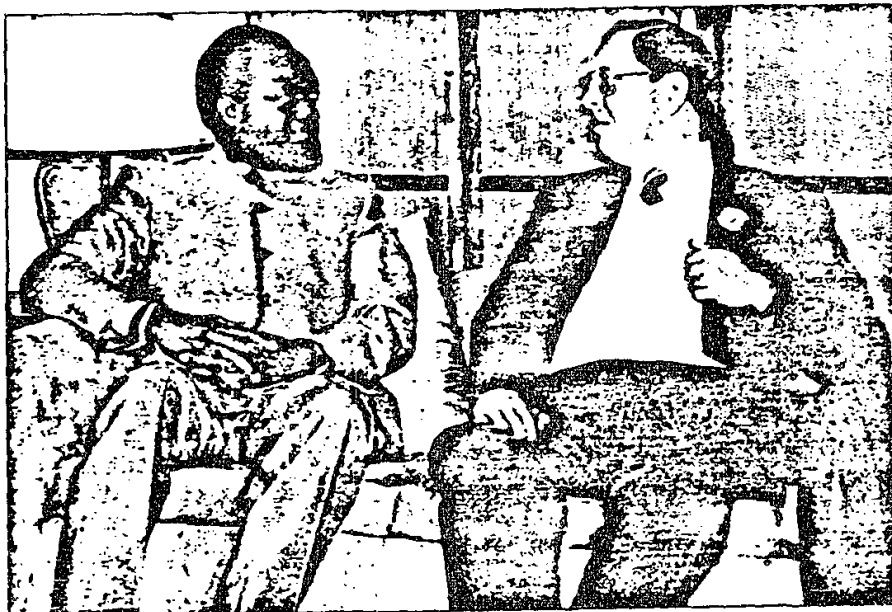
Senator John Danforth (R, Missouri) speaks at the Library Court meeting.

The Stanton Group

The Stanton Group concentrates on issues related to national defense and foreign policy. This coalition of 65 defense and foreign policy organizations is the standard against which all other coalitions meetings are judged. We have a standing room only crowd at virtually every meeting and have a hard time keeping up with the number of requests to come and address the group. More importantly, however, we always emphasize action.

The Stanton Group is involved in efforts to procure funding for the space based anti-satellite defense system and other critical defense systems.

Stanton also directs major efforts toward forging a strong anti-communist foreign policy. The need to support the nations threatened by Soviet aggression has been forcefully set forward by Stanton.



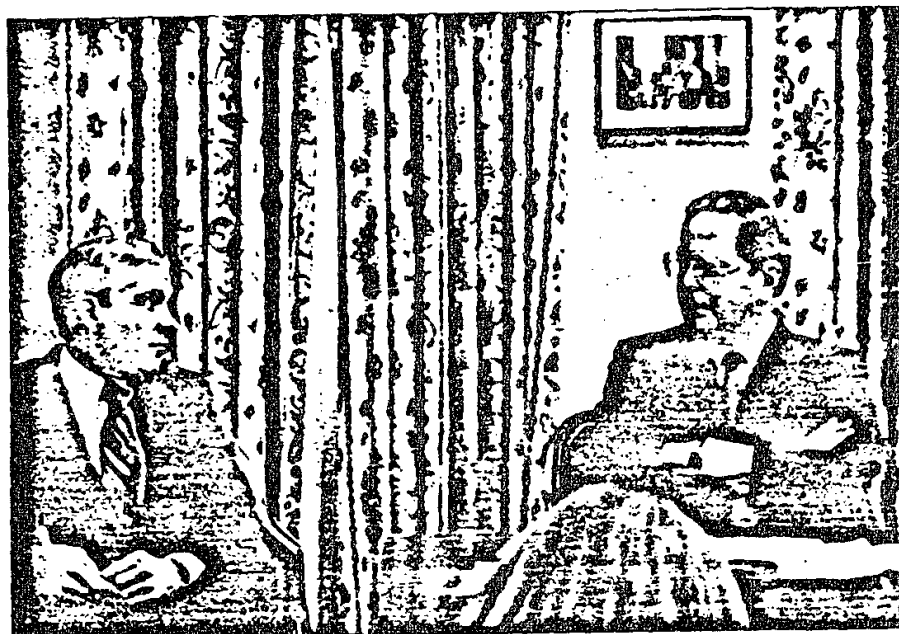
Jones Savimbi, leader of the UNITA freedom fighters in Angola, meets with Paul Weyrich at a special Stanton Group meeting.



Ed Derwinski, Secretary of Veterans Affairs, fields a question at the Stanton Group.



Senator Malcolm Wallop (R, Wyoming) speaks at the Stanton Group meeting.



Robert Gates, Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, speaks before the Stanton Group.

THE RESISTANCE Support Alliance

The Resistance Support Alliance was founded in 1987 with the primary focus to be the advancement of the cause of freedom fighter movements which are struggling against communist regimes around the world.

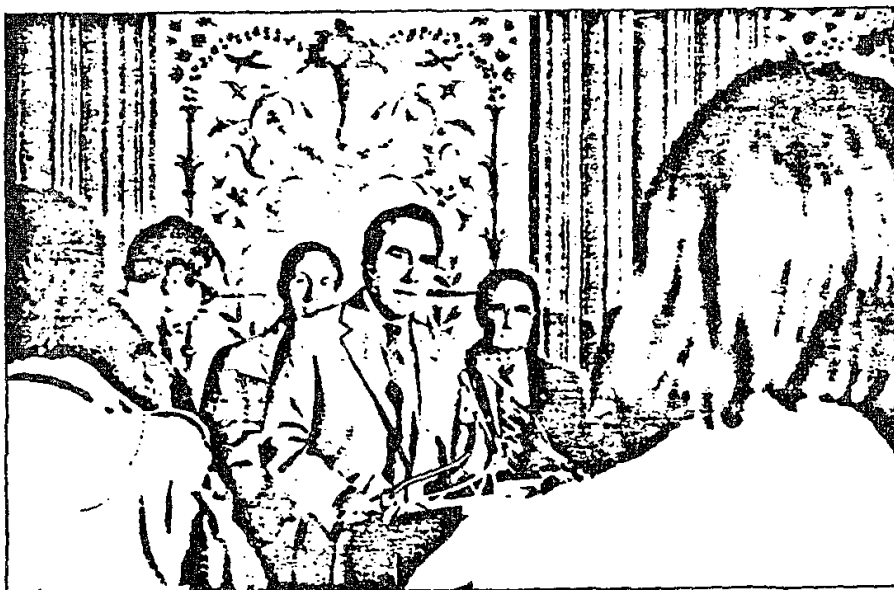
The Resistance Support Alliance (RSA) position is that America should have a uniform policy of aid to all freedom fighters in all parts of the world. In that regard, RSA has taken the major initiative to have the Freedom Fighter Assistance Act introduced in the United States Senate and House of Representatives which would give aid to freedom fighter movements in countries of Asia, Africa and Central America.

While the Resistance Support Alliance provides support for resistance movements across the globe, a whole new dimension has been provided to the RSA coalition with the addition of the Liberation Support Alliance. Liberation Support Alliance seeks to liberate peoples in Central and Eastern European nations who have suffered under Soviet Communist domination since World War II.

Resistance Support Alliance now has an outreach to over 110 groups nationwide who all have the common goal of having freedom in all nations of the world.



Laszlo Pasztor, National President of the Liberation Support Alliance.



Senator Minority Leader, Robert Dole (R, Kansas), Senator Steve Symms (R, Idaho), former Senator Paul Trible (R, Virginia) and Senator Strom Thurmond (R, S. Carolina) introduce the Freedom Fighter Assistance Act.

"Over the past few years Coalitions for America, the coordinator of conservative groups, has been instrumental in helping pass the President's tax cut program and has been helpful to all of us in Congress who are taking action to reduce budget deficits."

Robert Dole
Senate Minority Leader
(R, Kansas)

The James Monroe Group

The James Monroe Group on the American Democracies is an action-oriented coalition working together to increase and strengthen democracy and economic freedom in the Western Hemisphere.

Begun in 1988 the James Monroe Group is named for the fifth President of the United States, who first enunciated what came to be called "the Monroe Doctrine" which sought protection for democracies in the western hemisphere.

In assessing the democracies of the western hemisphere, the James Monroe Group considers whether a country has a free market economy; whether its citizens may participate freely, as candidates or voters, in free and open elections, and whether they enjoy constitutionally protected rights of individual liberty, such as the freedom of speech, the press, assembly, property, worship and the ownership of property without government intervention or confiscatory taxation.

Objectives of the James Monroe Group are:

- to study and assess the democracies of the western hemisphere, particularly those in South America, to determine whether their people are truly free constitutionally and economically.
- to develop and carry out strategies for enhancing and strengthening democracy in the hemisphere.
- to develop working relationships with democrats in other countries of the hemisphere assisting them in furthering democratic aims.



Juan Sosa, Ambassador to the United States from Panama, with William Kling and Mario Navarro da Costa, convenors of the James Monroe Group.

"Coalitions for America is an outstanding group working to preserve the free enterprise system, limited government, strong national defense, and traditional values."

Phil Gramm
United States Senator (R, Texas)

The Wednesday Lunch

Every Wednesday at noon, Coalitions for America sponsors the weekly conservative strategy luncheon with leaders from the House of Representatives, the White House and the conservative movement. The meeting, co-chaired by Burt Pines of the Heritage Foundation and Paul Weyrich of Coalitions for America, is held at our offices, at 721 Second Street NE, Washington D.C.

Members of the House leadership, staffers from the White House and key business representatives are in regular attendance. Some of the most creative challenges to the liberal welfare state have come from this meeting.

Topics at the lunch vary from week to week, but we keep it on current events. What makes the Wednesday strategy lunch so unique is having 30 leaders, with their own particular expertise inside and outside of government coming together each week to discuss strategy on the issues of the day and then each individual agrees to take action on legislation, personnel decisions and public policy issues as they arise. Having a relatively small group with a diversity of backgrounds and responsibilities makes for an effective chemistry in moving the political landscape in Washington.

"The Wednesday strategy lunch is the most important two hours I spend every week."

Newt Gingrich
House Minority Whip
(R, Georgia)



John Sununu (center), Chief of Staff to President George Bush, meets with the Wednesday Lunch Group at the Coalitions for America offices.



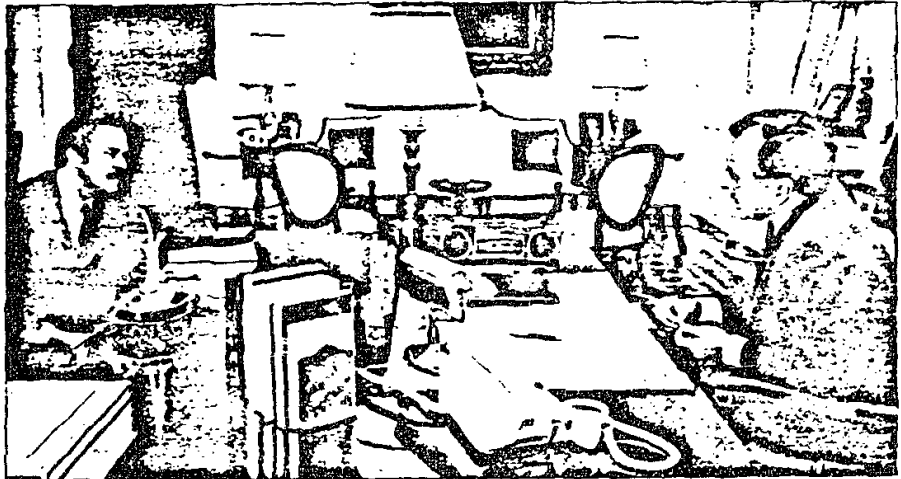
Newt Gingrich (right), House Minority Whip (R, Georgia), Burt Pines of the Heritage Foundation (center) and James Pinkerton, Deputy Assistant to the President for Policy Planning, discuss strategy at the Wednesday Lunch.

The 721 Group

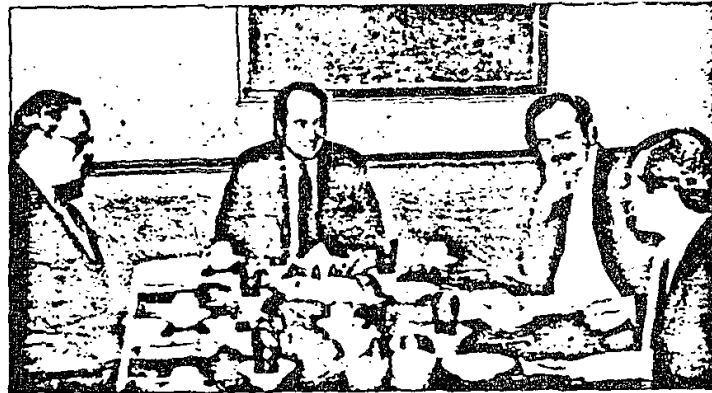
Formed in 1983, the 721 Group is a coalition of conservative legal organizations and law enforcement groups who meet regularly to plan legislative strategy on criminal justice issues, judicial nominations and broad questions of judicial reform. The group observes developments in the Department of Justice and other litigation arms of the federal government and makes recommendations for personnel and public policy. This group was the principal outside operation for the passage of the Criminal Code Reform Act of 1984.

White House Counsel C. Boyden Gray and Attorney General Richard Thornburgh (and their top aides) have met regularly with members of the 721 Group on issues of judicial selection, personnel and other matters of mutual concern.

In the coming years, Supreme Court nominations and other judicial appointments will be a major focus for the 721 Group.



Pat McGuigan, Chairman of the 721 Group, meets with George Bush.



Paul Weyrich, National Chairman of Coalitions for America (left), Pat McGuigan, Chairman of the 721 Group (right) meet with Attorney General Richard Thornburgh (center). They are joined by Murray Dickman, Special Assistant to the Attorney General (far right).

The Omega Alliance

Founded in January 1988, the Omega Alliance is a coalition of young conservative activists who work for different government agencies, professional organizations and congressional offices. The main purpose of the group is to unite these young people into an effective working coalition to take action on public policy issues, both domestic and foreign. A secondary purpose of the Omega Alliance is to provide a forum in which information on upcoming events and activities can be shared with other activists.

In fulfilling these purposes, the Omega Alliance serves a unique part of the conservative movement. Washington has long attracted young people—college students and recent graduates—who travel to the nation's capitol to become involved in the process of government, whether working on the "inside"

in one of many congressional offices and government agencies or on the "outside" as members of lobbying groups or other associations.

Though the Omega Alliance has been active for a shorter time than the others, it already has a solid record of achievement in uniting young conservatives to take action on critical public policy issues. In recent months, the Omega Alliance organized a demonstration at the Ethiopian Embassy in Washington to protest the Marxist government's policies which have led to the starvation of its own people. Congressman Toby Roth of Wisconsin spoke at the protest, introducing a resolution in Congress condemning the Ethiopian government's human rights violations.

In all of its activities the Omega Alliance seeks to tap into the energy and resourcefulness that young leaders have to offer. When working together they are empowered to make a difference.

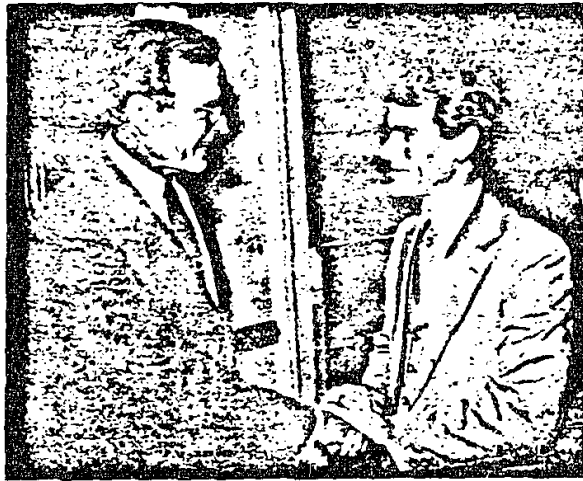


Congressman Toby Roth (R, Wisconsin) speaks in front of the Ethiopian Embassy.

The Siena Group for Catholic Policy

Established in April 1988, The Siena Group for Catholic Policy is the newest member of Coalitions for America. The Siena Group is a coalition of approximately forty Catholic organizations, publications and institutions, all sharing a generally conservative viewpoint. These groups work together to deal with issues of how the Church affects public policy.

Historically, the Catholic Church in the United States has been an influential force in favor of traditional values on social and cultural issues and on questions of national defense and anti-communism. Over the past generation, however, most official Catholic agencies have become dominated by leftist elements, with attacks on our free enterprise system and the promotion of the nuclear freeze movement. The Catholic people, on the other hand, are quite diverse in their views and there remains a strong conservative Catholic element. The organizations which participate in the Siena Group find their constituencies among these conservative Catholics.



Michael Schwartz, Chairman of the Siena Group, meets with George Bush.

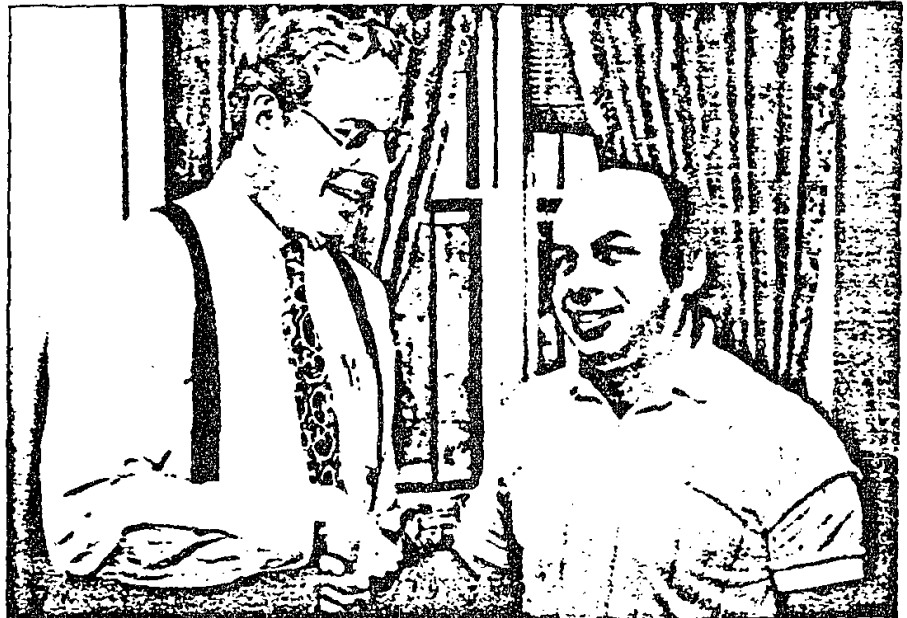
The Siena Group is less than a year old, but it is already playing a key role in the formation of a genuine movement of conservative Catholics. One project underway, aimed at overcoming the logistical problems of building a working relationship among organizations scattered across every part of the country is the linking of Siena Group participants into a computer communications network.

"Coalitions for America is a group I go to when I want to take action on legislation. I value their input."

Congressman Ralph Hall
(D, Texas)

The Jewish/Conservative Alliance

Formed in the 1980's the Jewish/Conservative Alliance seeks to identify areas of agreement between Jewish and conservative organizations. The leaders of both groups get together periodically to share better understandings of each others' perspectives on issues. One common interest of the Jewish/Conservative Alliance is the human rights policies of totalitarian regimes throughout the world.



Paul Weyrich meets with Natan Sharansky.

Coalitions Personnel



Paul M. Weyrich

Paul M. Weyrich is a writer, public policy specialist and political activist who has been on the Washington scene for nearly 20 years.

He is National Chairman of Coalitions for America, which brings together more than 300 pro-free enterprise, pro-defense and pro-family groups, organized into several different coalition groups, which meet on a regular organized basis to work on common legislative strategies. Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole has called Weyrich "the key conservative in Washington for bringing together groups to accomplish our goals."

He also serves as President and Chief Executive Officer of the Free Congress Research and Education Foundation whose staff members and resident scholars produce more than 150 books, monographs, policy bulletins and newsletters per year on political trends, judicial reform and family issues. In addition, the Free Congress Foundation sponsors training and educational conferences in a variety of fields ranging from the social sciences to grass roots politics.

Weyrich also serves as National Chairman of the Free Congress PAC (formerly the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress). The Free Congress PAC teaches conservatives of both parties how to build precinct organizations and how to network with conservative and values oriented groups.

In addition, Weyrich serves as senior editor of *Conservative Digest* and writes a regular think piece for each issue of the magazine. His op-ed pieces frequently appear in leading newspapers throughout the nation.

Besides these responsibilities, Weyrich is Chairman of the Board of the American Society of Local Officials, Vice Chairman of the Committee for Effective State Government and Treasurer of the Council for National Policy. He is also on the Board of Directors of WEEI, the all news radio station in Boston, Massachusetts.

In early 1985, Transportation Secretary Elizabeth Dole asked Weyrich to serve as Chairman of the Dulles Access Task Force, a committee which has now recommended a light rail system between the Washington subway system and the airport. He continues to serve as Chairman of that transportation group, as well as being a member of the Section 15 Advisory panel of the Urban Mass Transportation Administration. In 1987 Transportation Secretary Dole named Paul Weyrich as a member of the Board of Directors of the National Railroad Passenger Corporation (Amtrak). Weyrich has a long background in transit writing and at one time did transportation work in the United States Senate.

Weyrich was the founder and first President of the Heritage Foundation, a major public policy research institution in Washington. He worked on the formation of the Republican Study Committee and the Senate Steering Committee in the early 1970's. Both are caucuses of conservative Republican legislators in the Congress. He has been active in the formation and training of various components of the Religious Right, and currently advises a number of religious right figures.

He served on the U.S. Senate staff for 11 years for Senator Gordon Allott, the Chairman of the GOP Conference.

Prior to coming to Washington, Weyrich was a broadcast and print media journalist for seven years in Wisconsin and Colorado, including the *Milwaukee Sentinel*, for which Weyrich served as city hall reporter. He was a political reporter for the CBS-TV affiliate in Milwaukee and was also news director of a Denver radio station. Weyrich, a native of Racine, Wisconsin where he attended the University of Wisconsin, is a Greek Catholic, has been married to the former Joyce Smigun for 25 years and is the father of five children.



Eric Licht

Eric Licht is President of Coalitions for America, formerly Vice President for Development of the Free Congress Foundation, the Vice President for Operations and co-author of *Ethnic Voters and National Issues*, a study released by the Foundation in 1982. He graduated from Hillsdale College in 1974 and has an M.A. in History from Michigan State University.

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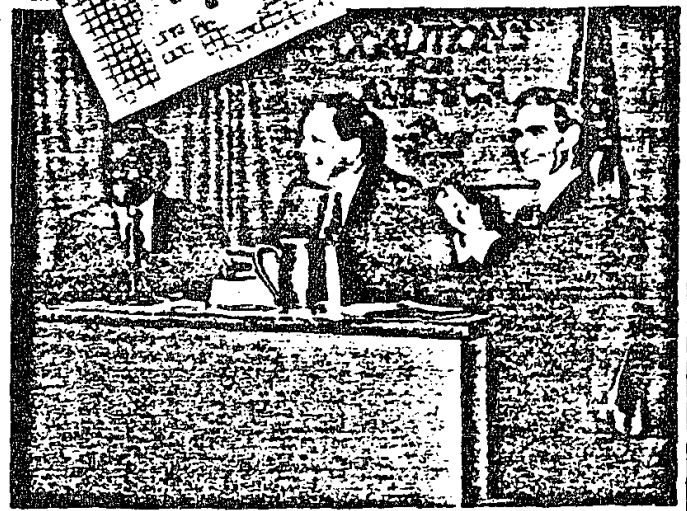
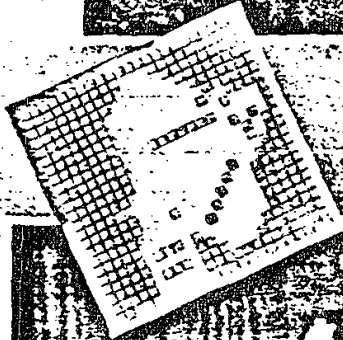
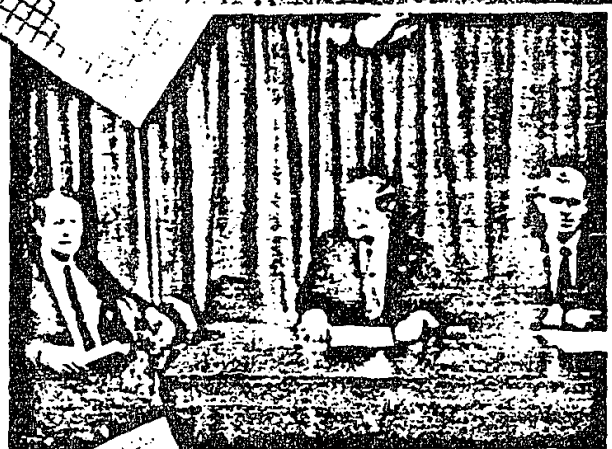
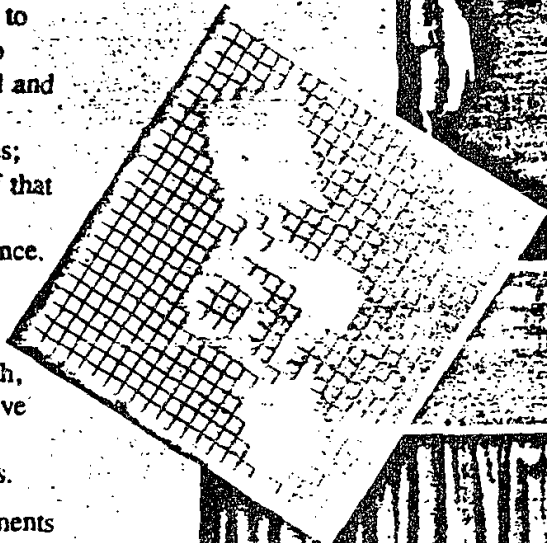
LIBRARY COURT LIVE is a satellite TV program that is today's voice of the pro-family movement. A voice that reaffirms the traditional values that have served our community well in the past. Values to which we must rededicate ourselves in order to ensure our future. That is, a reverence for God and country; a belief that human life is sacred; a commitment to strong families and communities; respect for excellence in education and a belief that hard work and sound preparation prepares an individual for success and economic independence.

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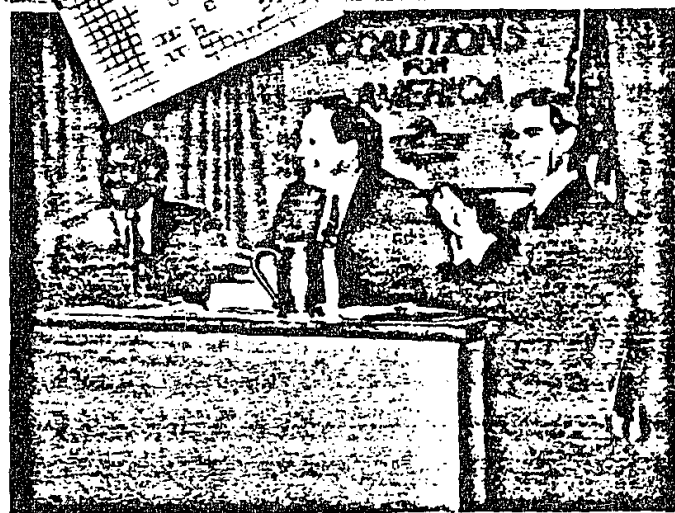
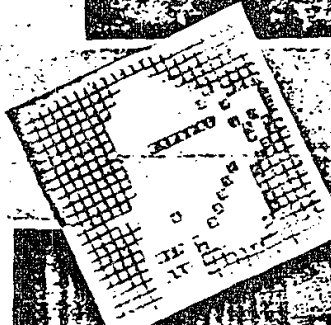
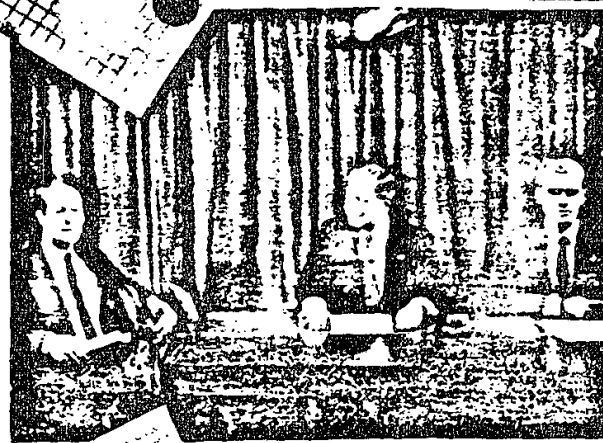
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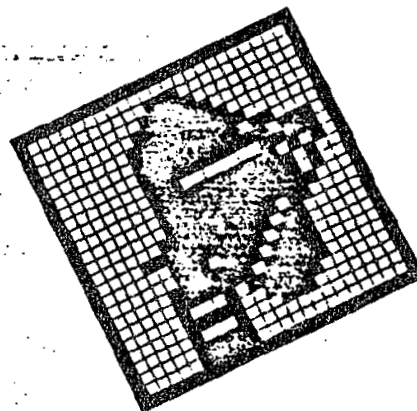
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EXHIBIT 10

A: Absolutely not. They never want to talk about living Americans. They want to talk about the remains of Americans.

Q: Do you believe normalization of relations with Vietnam would help or hurt resolution of the issue?

A: It would be a death sentence for those Americans who are still living over there. I'm for lifting the trade embargo after we get the prisoners out.

Q: There have been charges that groups such as yours are exploiting the families of the missing men for financial gain. What is your response?

A: They are trying to paint all of us with the same brush. I have never taken a salary, and we've had an audit every year we've been in operation. Every penny we've taken in has been accounted for. I have never profited from this issue.

Q: Is there any truth to recent reports following the breakup of the Soviet Union that American prisoners from World War II, Korea and Vietnam were taken there and may still be there?

A: Yes. My navigator is among them. I've gotten information from three different sources, including two church groups, that he's in a prison in Kazakhstan [a former Soviet republic that is now an independent country]. But he's been sealed off, and he's got a Russian name, so even the officials there aren't sure who he is.

Q: Do you think the new administration will make any difference in resolving the issue?

A: Gov. [Bill] Clinton has a unique opportunity to set the record straight, but only if Senator Kerry doesn't get to him first and convince him otherwise. Governor Clinton wasn't part of the problem; President Bush was.

Q: What can Bill Clinton do that the past administrations haven't done?

A: I'm proposing he appoint Ross Perot to head a commission to go to Vietnam and stay there until the issue is resolved. He should be able to negotiate and speak for the president and be able to lift the embargo in exchange for living prisoners of war. It's a win-win situation for both sides.

>>>

LEVEL 1 - 2 OF 2 STORIES

Copyright 1992 The Atlanta Constitution
The Atlanta Journal and Constitution

<November> 21, 1992

SECTION: LOCAL NEWS; Section B; Page 3

LENGTH: 182 words

HEADLINE: Men, women in uniform assured their vote counts

BYLINE: By Ron Martz STAFF WRITER

KEYWORD: georgia; military; organizations; personalities

BODY:

It took six years in a North Vietnamese prisoner of war camp for former Navy Capt. Eugene "Red" McDaniel to understand the value of an individual vote.

"I was 36 years old when I was shot down and had never voted, had never even registered to vote, because I didn't think my vote mattered," said Mr. McDaniel.

Mr. McDaniel, who founded the non-profit <American Defense Foundation> of Alexandria, Va., to increase public awareness of military issues, now spends a great deal of time trying to convince military personnel that their votes count.

This week Mr. McDaniel was in Georgia touring military facilities and talking about Tuesday's runoff election between Democratic Sen. Wyche Fowler Jr. and Republican challenger Paul Coverdell. He visited soldiers Friday at Fort McPherson in Atlanta.

There are about 61,000 military personnel stationed in Georgia who are registered to vote in the state.

Mr. McDaniel said efforts like his organization's have helped increase military voter turnout from 49.7 percent in the 1980 presidential election to 63.5 percent in the 1988 election.

LEVEL 1 - 12 OF 20 STORIES

Copyright 1992 The Atlanta Constitution
The Atlanta Journal and Constitution

<December> 1, 1992

SECTION: EDITORIAL; Section A; Page 12

LENGTH: 434 words

HEADLINE: <Georgia> GOP used Lee Atwater's plan to win

BYLINE: Dick Williams

KEYWORD: politics; government; elections; conventions; leaders

BODY:

As Republicans gathered a week ago for the taut evening that became Sen.-elect Paul Coverdell's victory celebration, some dramatic changes in the state party were evident.

The crowd was younger, more joyful and far more representative of the state than in the past.

All around the ballroom at the Century Center Sheraton were young men and women who had won campaigns. They were veterans of the county commission races, legislative fights - and most of all - the four winning congressional campaigns for the Republicans this year.

In that sense, it more resembled a Democratic gathering: seasoned professionals talking shop.

Young campaign strategists such as Mark Rountree, Rich Golick, Bob Varga and a quartet of coastal Georgians who helped elect Rep. Jack Kingston in the 1st District seemed to know the meaning of each county tally.

The young activists from Gwinnett and Cobb and Clayton, North Fulton and Fayette counties know the ins and outs of direct mail, of phone banks and cable television buys.

They have learned from the more experienced professionals such as Cobb County's Jim Lovejoy and Jay Morgan, who has combined <Georgia> and Washington service successfully. They have worked with the very young and self-effacing David Shafer, executive director of the party.

Their idealism is tempered by experience. Along with solid candidates, the young professionals are the chief reason <Georgia> Republicans made the greatest gains in the South this year at every level.

Critical to their success were the coalitions. Another feature of Mr. Coverdell's victory celebration was the presence of many who once demonized him in those unending intramural Republican fights in the 1980s.

They called the Coverdell faction the liberals. Some even called him a baby-killer. His supporters called them the fundamentalist Christians, the forces of darkness.

Even though so many of the GOP operatives are quite young, a maturity is evident. John Knox, the former Waycross mayor who lost to Mr. Coverdell in the GOP primary, kept his organization together and did yeoman work for the new senator.

The <National Right to Life> Committee supported Mr. Coverdell avidly, even though he is pro-choice.

For all the punditry about the Christian right dooming the Republican Party, the Coverdell election was exactly what the late Lee Atwater espoused for the GOP: The Big Tent.

<Georgia> Republicans have been their party's embarrassment for years. This year they may have shown the national party how to pitch a tent that lasts.

Dick Williams's column appears on Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday.



ADI News

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WINTER 1993

Interests Must Warrant The Use Of Force

With the end of his Presidency near, President Bush in December committed nearly 25,000 troops to the African country of Somalia. In an effort to ease humanitarian suffering, these troops were deployed to protect relief efforts and facilitate the distribution of food. Thus, with this United Nations-sanctioned effort, a new standard for the application of U.S. military force was established.

The arrival of U.S. Marines, after a two-year period in which the world watched Somalia factionalize and disintegrate into complete anarchy and chaos, lifted the hopes of Somalis and the world community. The Marines, it was hoped, would restore order and somehow bring a settlement that would lead to lasting peace and stability. Yet more than a month into the mission and after the first American fatality, the political reality of the move is setting in and it's apparent that Somalia's problems are unlikely to be resolved by the short-term commitment of American forces.

As the U.S. is intervening on a humanitarian basis in Somalia, the pressure to take military action — peace enforce-

ment — to halt the bloodshed in Bosnia-Herzegovina is mounting. At this point, it seems that the use of American military force in Bosnia is inevitable if the peace negotiations in Geneva fail. President Bill Clinton and Les Aspin, the new Secretary of Defense, have both indicated their support for enforcing a no-fly zone and taking more aggressive actions against Serbia. President Clinton even supports a war crimes trial for Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic.

And if the Bosnian situation is not enough, Saddam Hussein is increasing his belligerence. It was just two years ago that the debate over the use of force focused on Iraq's invasion of Kuwait and what action the U.S. should take to confront Saddam Hussein. Now Iraq is aggressively challenging U.N. weapons inspection teams and the Western powers' threat to enforce the no-fly zone established over the southern portion of Iraq, as well as conducting raids into Kuwait to recover Iraqi military equipment surrendered after the Gulf War. At the time this article went to press, the U.S. used military airstrikes and cruise missile attacks — sending a political mes-

sage to Hussein — in response to these violations of Gulf War cease-fire agreements.

In light of these recent events, the debate over when, where and how (see chart) the U.S. should use military force in the post-Cold War world has surged, unexpectedly, to the forefront of issues facing the new administration. The question at hand is: With the end of the Cold War, what guidelines should be set and followed for future U.S. military intervention?

The U.S. should carefully select — on a case-by-case basis — when, where and for what purpose it will use military force in the future. No action or inaction should be allowed to establish a precedent that confines or obligates future actions. Just because U.S. forces were deployed to Somalia for humanitarian purposes shouldn't automatically entangle or obligate the U.S. to act in future humanitarian crises. As President Bush stated in his farewell address to West Point cadets, "The mere fact that America is powerful enough to intervene in crises does not mean that it must."

For U.S. leaders and policymakers,



3 Ban on Gays in the Military

4 1992 Military Voter Effort

5 1992 ADI Interns

6 POW/MIA Update

7 The Captain's Chair:
Clinton's Cabinet

ADI Expands Military Voter Effort In 1992

This past fall, ADI once again launched its military voter program, "Defend America: VOTE!" to increase voter participation in the electoral process by members of the U.S. armed forces. "Defend America: VOTE!" has turned out military voters in every election cycle since 1984 and has helped increase military voter participation from 49.7% in 1980 to 63.5% in 1988.

The 1992 effort involved, for the first time, direct mail contact of military households combined with the promotional and motivational elements utilized since 1984. The mailer included:

- a motivational letter to the servicemember from ADI President Captain Red McDaniel, USN(Ret);
- an advertisement and instructions for the Defense Department's Voting Information Center hotline and AUTOVON phone numbers — a toll-free service that provides information on candidates and voting assistance;
- individual candidate responses to an ADI-generated questionnaire on defense issues; and
- a reminder to cast their vote on election day.

"Defend America: VOTE!" has turned out military voters in every election cycle since 1984 and has helped increase military voter participation from 49.7% in 1980 to 63.5% in 1988.

90,000 military households in six states (ID, NC, OH, OR, SC, WI) received the mailer. Motivational radio ads were produced and air-time was purchased for the U.S. Senate run-off election in Georgia. These ads aired in six different markets — Columbus, Savannah, Macon, Valdosta, Albany, and Hinesville — where concentrations of military personnel and facilities are the highest.

The promotional element of this integrated voter turnout program was mailing to military bases — for broadcast on their closed-circuit television programming — and local commercial television stations, motivational video Public Service Announcements (PSAs) that promote voting. PSAs, along with camera-ready print PSAs and informational press releases about military voting, were sent to military bases located in eight different states (GA, ID, OH, OR, NC, SC, VA, WI). ADI also sent press releases and camera-ready print PSAs to base papers and commercial newspapers at the same military installations.

Captain McDaniel personally visited military bases in four different

states (GA, NC, SC, VA). During these visits Captain McDaniel talked and shared information with unit and base Voting Assistance Officers and the editors of base papers. While visiting the bases, Captain McDaniel also sought civilian earned-media coverage to further spread the get-out-to-vote message. Captain McDaniel conducted interviews with civilian reporters from: the *Charleston Post & Courier*, *The State* in Columbia, SC; the *Atlanta Journal Constitution*; the *Fayetteville Observer Times*; WTVD TV and WRAL TV in Fayetteville, NC; WJCL TV and WTOG TV in Savannah, GA; the *Hinesville Coastal Courier*; the *Columbus Ledger Enquirer*; the *Macon Telegraph*; and WGXA TV and WMAZ TV in Macon, GA.

Although turnout results have not been completed yet, preliminary indications from the Pentagon are that 1992 military voter participation increased from 1988 levels. Official results will not be available until March.



Gay Military - continued from page 3
military, unlike civilian life, there is forced and uninterrupted association and contact with others, without any privacy, and under chronic stress. Introducing open homosexuality will only disrupt this fragile environment and increase tension among the ranks.

Homosexual-rights activist groups would like the public to believe that discriminating against homosexuals is equivalent to past race discrimination in the armed forces. This comparison, as General Colin Powell explained, is a convenient but invalid argument. "Skin color is a benign, non-behavioral characteristic. Sexual orientation is perhaps the most profound of human behavioral characteristics." Furthermore, a key distinction is that sodomy is illegal in most states and prohibited under the Armed Forces Uniform Code of Military Justice. Skin color, obviously, is not an illicit characteristic.

Another argument homosexual-rights activists advance to legitimize lifting the gay ban is the presence of gays in our allies' armed forces. They claim this is evidence that homosexuals have the ability to serve openly without adverse consequences. The logic at work here is that because Australia, Canada, France, Germany, Denmark, Norway, the Netherlands, Italy, and Israel lifted their bans on homosexuals without incident, the U.S. military should have no concern about lifting its ban. But this argument overlooks several important factors:

1. The militaries of these nations rely on conscription or mandatory service and thus cannot exempt one class of citizens while forcing others to serve. The U.S., on the other hand, relies on a professional, all-volunteer force and thus is more selective — which largely

accounts for its unquestioned superiority;

2. The U.S. military, as the only superpower, has global defense responsibilities and much more riding on its combat effectiveness than its allies. With all due respect, our allies can afford to sacrifice some combat effectiveness on such experiments because they only have to defend their own borders and ultimately rely on the U.S. military to ensure their security. The U.S. cannot afford that luxury; and
3. There are cultural differences between the U.S. and its allies. Attitudes toward homosexuality in the U.S. are not as liberal, so gays are less easily accepted in our military than they are elsewhere.

Furthermore, to allow homosexuals to serve in the U.S. armed forces would create additional health risks and increase the cost of military medicine at a time when budgets are dwindling. The Center for Disease Control recently reported that 60% of the AIDS cases reported in the U.S. between October 1991 and September 1992 resulted from homosexual activity. Recent studies have also shown that homosexuals, despite the popularly accepted figure of 10%, actually account for only 2-4% of the U.S. population yet carry over 80% of the sexually transmitted diseases. Because homosexuals are much more likely to contract AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases, allowing them to serve in the military would logically increase the number of cases of these diseases and put undue financial and personnel strain on the military medical system and pose a threat to unit strength levels.

Lifting the ban on homosexuals openly

serving in the United States military is placing what some believe to be politically and socially desirable over that which is absolutely vital. To allow homosexuals to openly serve in the military will erode our military's effectiveness through the disintegration of morale and cohesion as well as increased health risks and medical costs. Prohibiting homosexuals from serving in the military is a practical judgment — made by those with decades of military and combat experience — preventing individuals that, based on their lifestyle choices and behavior, would be unsuitable for military service. To quote *Newsweek's* David Hackworth, a retired Army Colonel and highly-decorated veteran, "...discriminations are necessary when a larger public purpose is being served. Civilian standards of fairness and equality don't apply down where the body bags are filled."

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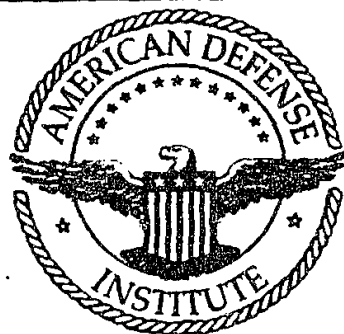
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EXHIBIT 11



The Campaign that wouldn't end . . .

That is what one reporter called the 1992 Paul Coverdell versus Wyche Fowler battle for the U.S. Senate seat from Georgia. Because no candidate received a majority of the vote on November 3, an unusual Georgia law forced a runoff three weeks later. That runoff became an exceedingly intense, expensive, and visible campaign that Coverdell won by 50.7 percent to 49.3 percent.

Paul Coverdell was an Ayres & Associates client throughout the 16-month campaign. This newsletter focuses on that race because of its national prominence and its relevance for future campaigns.



Senator Paul Coverdell

ele in those voters looked beneath the surface: similarity between Coverdell's and Fowler's positions on abortion and discovered that Coverdell was far closer to their views than the incumbent Democrat on a wide range of issues. While both candidates favored a version of pro-choice, Coverdell surprised parental notification before a minor could get an abortion, which Fowler opposed. Coverdell supported voluntary prayer in school, which Fowler opposed. Coverdell opposed the Freedom of Choice Act, which Fowler supported.

Consequently, religious conservatives gave Coverdell not only grudging but active support. In the general election runoff, the Christians in Coalition sent out over one million pieces of mail that favorably compared Coverdell's position on key issues to Fowler's. Paul Coverdell would not be a U.S. Senator independent of the efforts of religious conservatives.

Victory comes with a laser-like focus on a clear, simple, effective message.

It is one of those maxims that "everybody knows," yet it is amazing how often it is violated under the intense pressure of a political campaign. The challenge for political candidates and constituents is not simply recognizing the truth of this guideline, but using the discipline to stick to it under pressure.

A year before the general election, an Ayres & Associates benchmark poll identified 11 themes for the campaign.

1/4cnc Fowler is out-of-step and out of touch with Georgia

**The only way to change Congress
is to change the people in Congress**

Continued

Anatomy of an Upset:

Paul Coverdell's U.S. Senate Victory in Georgia

By Dr. Q. Whitfield Ayres
President, Ayres & Associates

At about 1:00 am on November 25, 1992, election returns finally confirmed that Paul Coverdell had defeated Wyche Fowler for one of Georgia's U.S. Senate seats in the first general election *unsplit* in Georgia history.

To get to that point, Paul Coverdell endured four elections: a primary election; a primary runoff; a general election; and a general election runoff. The last three elections were decided by about one percentage point. In the process, Coverdell pulled off one of the greater upsets of 1992, winning a seat when few people gave him a chance to win and becoming only the second Republican challenger to defeat an incumbent Democratic U.S. Senator in the 1992 electoral cycle.

The victory was particularly sweet for Republicans because the campaign was the first visible contest after the party lost the presidency, and it came in the face of per-

sonal campaigning for Senator Fowler by President-elect Clinton and Vice President-elect Gore.

The Coverdell victory provides several lessons for future campaigns.

The religious conservative movement is maturing politically.

While traditional Republicans and religious conservatives remain at loggerheads in many parts of the country, the two groups were working in tandem to help Paul Coverdell defeat Wyche Fowler.

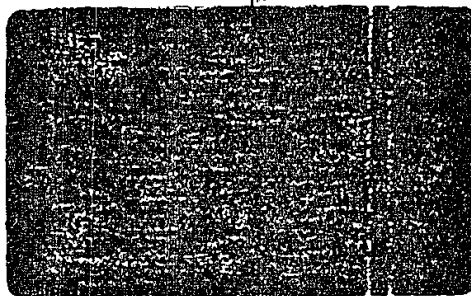
In the Republican primary, many religious conservatives opposed Coverdell who is pro-choice on abortion. But in the general

AYRES & ASSOCIATES is a public opinion research and consulting firm in metro Atlanta providing information and analysis for strategic planning to Republican candidates and corporate clients. The firm has a stated winning candidate from statewide contests for governor and U.S. senator in state legislative races.

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The poll also identified numerous specific issues that would support the two themes. Neither theme would have been sufficient alone, but the out-of-step theme reinforced the anti-incumbency theme to create a powerful one-two punch.

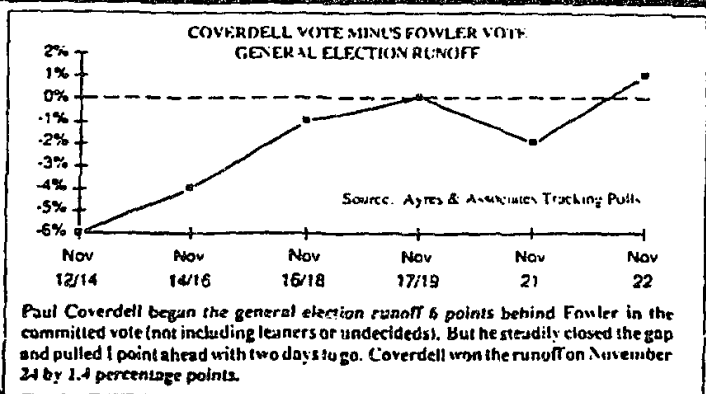
The Coverdell campaign focused intensely on those two themes for an entire year. Maintaining the focus was not always easy. While internal polls showed a close race three weeks prior to the general election, public polls predicted a landslide for Fowler. Inevitable pressure built to "do something different," to "change course because we are losing."

A campaign can trail because its message is wrong. But a campaign can also trail because it has the right message that has not yet been communicated to enough people. Our tracking poll indicated that Coverdell was trailing because of the second explanation, as the campaign stuck to the message that was communicated through a limited number of television spots.

In contrast, the Fowler campaign ran twice as many spots as Coverdell, including at least seven different television ads in fourteen days during the runoff. No sooner had one message hit the airways than another appeared. Fowler's approach was anything but a "laser-like focus on a clear, simple, effective message."

When an opportunity arises to blow the competition out of the water... Do it!

At the first of August, after Paul Coverdell had survived intense primary and primary runoff elections, the campaign was broke. The Fowler campaign, on the other



hand, had no primary opposition and was sitting on \$2 million in the bank.

The entire Coverdell candidacy was exceedingly vulnerable at this point. Had the Fowler campaign taken the opportunity to define Paul Coverdell before he could define himself, Coverdell could not have responded effectively due to budgetary constraints.

Fortunately for Coverdell, Fowler waited a month to go on the air, and then he began exclusively with warm, positive spots which ran throughout September. That gave Coverdell two months to rebuild his coffers to the point where he could fight effectively. But had Fowler taken advantage of his early relative strength, the Coverdell campaign would probably never have recovered.

When a challenger wins office by making the campaign a referendum on the incumbent, the challenger faces a substantial obstacle to his or her own re-election.

For the third time in three elections, this senate seat changed hands. In 1980, Mack Mattingly defeated Senator Herman Talmadge by making the campaign a referendum on Talmadge's leadership. In 1986, Wyche Fowler defeated Mattingly with the same strategy. And in 1992, Paul Coverdell did the same to Fowler.

This pattern indicates that a challenger who wins a seat purely through a referendum strategy needs to continue the campaign mode throughout the time he or she is serving in office. The ideal, well-funded campaign creates both a negative impression of the opponent and a positive impression of the candidate. A referendum on the incumbent is essentially and necessarily a negative message. Once in office, the successful challenger needs to complete the unfinished work of the campaign in building a positive base of support. Failure to do so will make the new incumbent just as vulnerable as the defeated incumbent. ■

Coverdell Team Wins Two Pollie Awards with Singing Grandmother

The American Association of Political Consultants (AAPC) awarded first place honors in the 1992 Pollie Awards competition to Paul Coverdell's media team. The winning team that produced the ads included Tom Perdue, campaign manager, Ralph Chandler, creative director, Pat Sibley, media buyer, and Whit Ayres, polling consultant.

"Margie Sings" won first place in the thirty-second statewide television ad category and first place in the sixty-second radio ad category. The AAPC received over 1200 entries in various categories.

Most winning campaigns, no matter how well run, need a break or two along the way to be victorious. Margie Lopp gave Paul Coverdell a big break. The 73-year old grandmother from a small town in south Georgia called the campaign out of the blue one evening in early September and sang a jingle that she had written on Coverdell's behalf.



Let's put Paul Coverdell in the Senate and put Wyche Fowler out. Wyche has proved we don't need him in Georgia. Georgia wants him out. But with Paul Coverdell we'll have a leader of that there is no doubt. So vote Paul Coverdell in the Senate and put Wyche Fowler out.

Margie wanted a professional singer to do the jingle, but the media team saw the potential in using Margie as the star. Moreover, the jingle was consistent with Coverdell's campaign theme that Fowler was out-of-step and out-of-touch with Georgia. To drive the point home, a tag line suggested by our polling was added, "We've got to get rid of Wyche Fowler...he's just like Ted Kennedy."

That was the first Coverdell advertisement used in the general election campaign, and it created a storm of controversy. Some of Coverdell's own contributors were upset that their money was being spent on an ad thought to be frivolous. Other critics called

it "antonying" and "patronizing," and one well-known pundit called it "the stupidest political ad I have ever seen." But it also received rave reviews on national broadcasts on CBS and CNN, with Mike Wallace calling it the best political ad of 1992 on election night.

Coverdell's polling showed that much of the criticism came from voters who were already committed to Fowler. Many undecided voters, on the other hand, found the ad to be "catchy," or "cute." The Coverdell campaign knew it had a winner when an eighth grade teacher said in response to an open-ended question: "My students come into class singing that jingle every day."

The ad ran for no more than a week. But during that time Paul Coverdell's name identification shot up in our tracking poll, and the ensuing controversy continued to drive his name identification higher. Voters loved it or hated it, but they remembered it.

That is the point the critics missed. No one on the Coverdell team believed that the ad would move many voters from Fowler to Coverdell. But at that time Fowler was better known than Coverdell, and the campaign had failed to generate much interest or enthusiasm. Margie changed all that and set the stage for the more substantive advertisements to follow. ■

Coalition rated clever, close to grass roots

By Joan Lowy
SCRAPPS HOWARD NEWS SERVICE

The first inkling of trouble Democratic Rep. Liz Patterson had was a newspaper ad by the Christian Coalition a week before Election Day asking for volunteers to distribute voter guides.

When an aide to the South Carolina congresswoman phoned the number listed in the ad, she discovered it was the campaign headquarters for her Republican opponent, Bob Inglis.

That Sunday, tens of thousands of Christian Coalition voter guides portraying Mrs. Patterson as sympathetic to homosexual rights and favoring "abortion on demand" were passed out to parishioners in churches throughout her district.

Seemingly overnight, the race turned around. Internal campaign polling had shown the incumbent with the support of 61 percent of likely voters. Newspaper polls had shown similar strength. On Election Day, she lost the race 51 percent to 49 percent.

"No one knew he [Inglis] was close to the religious right," Mrs. Patterson said. "We didn't find out how widespread it was until it was too late."

The three-term Democrat was the victim of what may be the smartest, smoothest, grass-roots political operation in the country — the Christian Coalition.

Founded by televangelist Pat Robertson in 1989 after his failed bid for the 1988 Republican presidential nomination, the coalition has made significant inroads into the power structure of the Republican Party and helped elect hundreds of candidates across the country who share its conservative social agenda.

In the November elections, candidates backed by the 350,000-member coalition and other religious-right organizations won 40 percent of the more than 500 races tracked by the liberal group People for the American Way. From school boards and town councils to Congress, these candidates now can affect public policy.

Fully aware that their support could handicap a candidate because many voters find their views extreme, coalition leaders coach their members in training sessions to

hole until the sun is beyond the horizon."

Indeed, some of the coalition's most notable losses have come in races in which their presence became a public issue.

In Colorado, Democrat Rep. David Skaggs was re-elected over Republican Bryan Day, a conservative Christian minister who had strong support from the coalition and other religious right organizations. Mr. Skaggs' internal campaign polls showed him vulnerable to defeat, but publicity about Mr. Day's conservative views and the backing he received from the coalition apparently turned voters off.

Rep. Pat Williams, Montana Democrat and a defender of the National Endowment for the Arts, was targeted for defeat by the coalition in 1990 and again last year. Both efforts, each well-publicized, were unsuccessful.

But in a recent runoff election in Georgia for the Senate, strong support from the evangelical community may have provided the margin of difference in Republican Paul Coverdell's defeat of incumbent Democrat Wyche Fowler. The coalition distributed to churchgoers just before the election more than 1 million voter guides saying Mr. Fowler supported "homosexual rights."

While there are dozens of conservative, evangelical organizations that have entered the political arena in the past decade, the Christian Coalition is by far the largest, most sophisticated and best-funded. It has 600 chapters, an annual budget of \$8 million and offices with paid staffs in 15 states.

Building on a computer list of millions of contributors to Mr. Robertson's presidential campaign, the coalition has established an exhaustive national network of activists who not only vote but organize other conservatives on behalf of the coalition's causes. Members pay anywhere from \$19 to more than \$200.

These activists have overwhelmed GOP precinct caucuses across the country. From there, they've been able to elect their candidates to higher party offices.

At the Republican National Convention in August, more than 300 members of the Christian Coalition were delegates. They controlled several state delegations, including

Wash. Times



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Fully aware that their support could handicap a candidate because many voters find their views extreme, coalition leaders coach their members in training sessions to deny or play down their role in local races, especially when talking to the media.

"You should never mention the name Christian Coalition in Republican circles," warns a manual put together by the Pennsylvania Christian Coalition. The 30-page pamphlet outlines how to win control of the Republican Party in that state.

The architect of what has been called the coalition's "stealth strategy" is its 31-year-old executive director, Ralph Reed, a former GOP activist who experienced spiritual enlightenment and became born-again while drinking with friends one night in a Capitol Hill pub.

Blessed with an inherent understanding of grass-roots organizing, Mr. Reed tackles his work as if he were conducting a military campaign.

"The most important strategy for evangelicals is secrecy," he told the Montana Christian Coalition a year ago. "We're involved in a war. It's not a war fought with bullets, it's a war fought with ballots. ... You must paint your face and travel at night. You must move underground and don't stick your head out of the fox-

targeted for defeat by the coalition in 1990 and again last year. Both efforts, each well-publicized, were unsuccessful.

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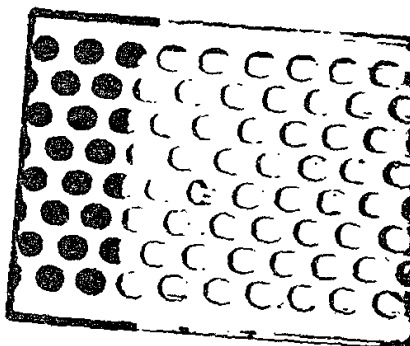
These activists have overwhelmed GOP precinct caucuses across the country. From there, they've been able to elect their candidates to higher party offices.

At the Republican National Convention in August, more than 300 members of the Christian Coalition were delegates. They controlled several state delegations, including Iowa, where 42 out of 47 delegates were coalition members. Overall, an estimated 30-40 percent of the 2,000 convention delegates were supporters of the religious right.

In almost two dozen states, coalition members working with other religious right organizations either have achieved effective control of the state party or made significant progress. The GOP in two of the nation's largest states, California and Texas, is dominated by evangelical activists.

Estimates are that white, evangelical Protestants make up about 20 percent of the voting public — a larger minority group than either blacks or Hispanics. Additionally, many conservative Roman Catholics share their views on social issues, especially abortion.

Mr. Robertson has said his goal is to have 10 of his Christian Coalition activists in every precinct in the country by the year 2000. As he explained in his book, "The New World Order," "We must rebuild the foundation of a free sovereign America from the grass roots, precinct by precinct, city by city and state by state."



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EXHIBIT 12

The Nation

April 27, 1992 \$2.25 U.S./\$2.75 Canada

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EDITORIAL

WEALTH IS HEALTH

There are ideas whose time has come. And there are ideas that should have been strangled at birth. An example of the latter was a bizarre theory advanced by the Office of Management and Budget recently. The O.M.B. contended that new health regulations for workers in the construction, agriculture and maritime industries establishing permissible exposure limits for toxic substances should be suspended because OSHA hadn't adequately considered the adverse effect on workers' health of businesses' costs of compliance.

The O.M.B.'s disingenuous medical theory was that the extra expense of implementing the regulations could force employers to cut wages or lay off employees. Never mind that this has not been the experience in industries where they are already in effect. The O.M.B. said that workers' health might suffer because "the positive effect of wealth on health has been established both theoretically and empirically. Richer workers on average buy more leisure time, more nutritious food, more preventive health care and smoke and drink less than poorer workers."

Some might accuse the O.M.B. of satire. Oh no, not that cold-eyed bunch of soulless accountants. More likely the analysis was a gambit in the ongoing White House drive to cadge additional campaign contributions from business by gutting or delaying health and safety regulations (see Christine Triano and Nancy Watzman, "Immoral, Illegal and Deadly," March 23). It's also a cynical attempt to evade a Supreme Court decision barring cost-benefit analysis of OSHA health rules. Finally, it's a sneak attack on all regulation, making cost to business the decisive criterion.

But the O.M.B. unintentionally made a good point: In this country lack of money is harmful to your health—which is why we need national health care, a higher minimum wage, stronger unions and more jobs.

CLINTON:
14 NEGATIVES
Christopher
Hitchens

QUEBEC INC.
UNPLUGGED
Paul Webster

WE'RE NO. 1!
Andrew L.
Shapiro

'GOD'S AIR
FORCE'
Frederick
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PAT ROBERTSON'S COALITION

THE RELIGIOUS RIGHT'S QUIET REVIVAL

JOE CONASON

Let me say, to the liberal media and the professional politicians, that the reports of the premature death of the religious right have been greatly exaggerated.

—Ralph Reed Jr.
executive director, the Christian Coalition

While the partisans of Bush and Buchanan battle it out in the primaries, another Republican Party faction, the Christian right, has been hovering just above the fray, waiting for its opportunity. Defying the political obituary of their movement written four years ago, America's right-wing evangelists have gathered around Pat Robertson and are quietly but effectively positioning themselves to control the future of conservatism.

Under the aegis of a new, highly solvent and dubiously tax-free national organization called the Christian Coalition, they're relentlessly registering churchgoers, canvassing "pro-family" voters, preparing campaign literature and organizing hard for conservatives in Republican primaries across the country. Striving to mobilize a bloc of 20 million "pro-family" voters next November, the coalition expects to affect every election, from the presidential race down to the statehouses, where the abortion issue looms.

After the eclipse of Swaggart, Bakker and Falwell, and Pat Robertson's own defeat for the Republican presidential nomination four years ago, the fundamentalist right seemed to have lost heaven's mandate. But in the summer of 1989, Robertson decided to resurrect the remnants of his campaign by forming the Christian Coalition, a grass-roots, issue-

(Continued on Page 553)



17

Religious Right

(Continued From Front Cover)

oriented army of the faithful. Since the coalition was founded, it has attracted more than 175,000 dues-paying members, each of whom belongs to one of the county chapters organized in forty-five states. There are now twenty states that have chapters in every county. The combination of money and troops has attracted to the Christian Coalition nearly all the most important figures on the religious right, including Oliver North, New Right godfather Paul Weyrich and the Rev. James Dobson of Focus on the Family.

Unlike the old Moral Majority, which was heavily oriented toward the media, Robertson's new outfit has sought no headlines, and its leaders still tend to shun publicity outside right-wing Christian circles. "We're flying below radar," is the motto of Ralph Reed Jr., the coalition's 30-year-old executive director. (It happens to have been David Duke's motto too.) He boasts that the coalition's targets—such as the dozen Virginia Democrats who lost elections in 1991—don't know what his "guerrilla warriors" are doing until it's too late. He still brags about the 350,000 pieces of literature that coalition volunteers distributed all over North Carolina at the last minute in 1990 to help Senator Jesse Helms defeat Harvey Gantt.

In other words, Robertson and his supporters have set about their latest crusade armed with more than their old fanaticism. They are sophisticated and, above all, pragmatic. Although many Christian Coalition activists—and the vast majority of Robertson's 700 Club viewers—probably prefer Buchanan, Robertson decided as early as last November to back Bush. There were religious considerations involved: Buchanan, whom Robertson calls "a dear friend and a marvelous conservative," is Catholic, and the coalition prefers Dan Quayle, who belongs to a far-right Presbyterian sect and is considered authentically born-again.

Yet it was practical politics, not religion, that dictated a Bush endorsement. And having committed themselves to Bush, Robertson and Reed are applying leverage on the White House like classic power brokers, never relaxing the pressure for political or ideological concessions. Publicly and privately they warn that without Robertson's blessing his followers, potentially critical in a close election, will stay home on Election Day.

No opportunity to twist Bush's arm has been missed. The coalition suddenly became visible this year when it mounted a grass-roots campaign against John Frohnmayer, the chairman of the National Endowment for the Arts who was ousted in February, after a flood of petitions to the White House that happened to coincide with Buchanan's exploitation of the same issue. But then, just before the crucial Georgia primary, Robertson sent out another mailing, at Bush's request, reiterating his support for the President.

What Bush offers the coalition in return, aside from Frohnmayer's head, is influence in the national campaign, a loud voice in the platform debate and delegate slots for its members. Such rewards are far more important to Robertson than Bush's

Joe Conason is editor at large of Details.

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2/7

re-election because the TV evangelist looking beyond 1992 to a more ambitious goal: control of the Republican Party.

Hegemony won't come cheaply. Robertson estimates that the coalition spent \$5 million in 1991 and will spend another \$10 million this year—all of it tax free. The Christian Coalition is registered as a "social welfare organization" with the Internal Revenue Service. Under Section 501(c)4 of the I.R.S. code, the coalition isn't supposed to be primarily involved in partisan politics. In fact, the coalition is focused upon a range of highly partisan activities that may violate its tax-exempt status.

At the local level, the coalition's Republicanism is sometimes muted, especially in hostile territory. Recently, the national field director, Guy Rodgers, visited New York City to kick off the organizing of a local chapter whose first meeting attracted more than eighty dedicated activists. He talked a lot about how to canvass a precinct, and very little about George Bush or the G.O.P.

"We don't endorse candidates and we don't endorse parties," recited Rodgers in boilerplate language. "We look at issues—and you can find pro-family candidates in both parties." But when he boasted about the Christian Coalition's successes in Virginia last November, he was talking about driving long-term Democratic legislators out of office and replacing them with "pro-family" Republicans. "If there had been a pro-family Democrat we might have supported him," he shrugged, "but there wasn't a single one."

Such disclaimers are intended to show that the coalition is what it professes to be: strictly "nonpartisan" and "issue-oriented." But they're disingenuous. The organization's goals and methods were discussed far more candidly at a closed meeting of its leaders from around the country last November, which I attended, where plans were drawn up for the 1992 election cycle.

Robertson hosted the "Road to Victory Conference and Strategy Briefing" at his sprawling headquarters in Virginia Beach, which houses the studios of the Christian Broadcasting Network and Chancellor Robertson's fully accredited Regent University. The conference proceedings, which started with tributes by Quayle and a grateful Helms, were held in

Robertson's new building, a lavish faux-eighteenth century motel called the Founders Inn, whose walls are adorned with gigantic oil portraits of George Washington, Thomas Jefferson and . . . Pat Robertson.

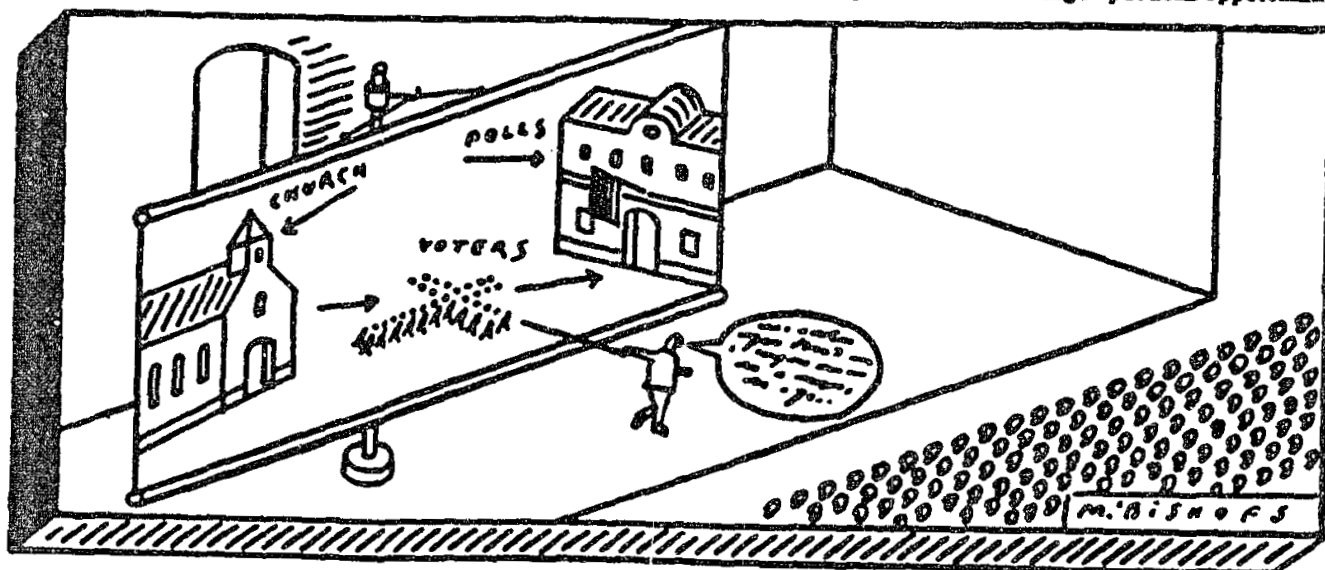
Among those who trekked to Virginia Beach were antiabortion leader and Eagle Forum president Phyllis Schlafly and Gary Bauer, the former Reagan domestic adviser who now runs the Rev. Dobson's Family Research Council. But apart from the big names in attendance, the most impressive aspect of the conference was the high level of political technique that Robertson's staff members imparted to their cadre.

For the duration of the two-day conference there was virtually no discussion of abortion or any other "pro-family" issue, except how they could be used (or misused) in an election. This was a campaign school, attended by more than 800 activists, and a brazenly partisan one at that. Not a single Democrat appeared on the program, not even as a sop to the I.R.S. Every speaker was a Republican.

But of course not all Republicans are godly. The coalition is as much engaged in internal G.O.P. wrangling as in fighting the Democrats. Talk of enemies didn't always mean journalists, liberals, homosexuals, feminists and the other usual suspects; often the sharpest insults were reserved for a breed considered truly satanic: moderate Republicans.

Such invective apparently didn't trouble Representative Guy Vander Jagt of Michigan, who chairs the National Republican Congressional Committee. Keynoting the first day's luncheon, he was flanked at the head table by G.O.P. House candidates from his home state as well as from North Carolina, Florida and Maine. A triumph for "family values" would, he vowed, mean an end to the "thirty-one years of Democratic rule" on Capitol Hill. "Why not do term limitations the old-fashioned way? Vote the rascals out and try a Republican Congress for a change!"

The details of 1992's holy war were outlined by staff members of the Republican campaign committees. Mike Pauley, a top official of Vander Jagt's operation, offered a "nuts and bolts briefing on some of the key targeted races that we need to be focusing on in 1992." Noting Republican opportunities



in districts where incumbent Democrats are leaving office, Pauley urged that the Christian Coalition get involved in low-turnout primaries in which "a bloc of pro-life and pro-family voters can have twice or three times as much impact as they do in a general election."

Pauley's counterpart at the National Republican Senatorial Committee, Curt Anderson, was even bolder. He too solicited the coalition's aid against incumbent Democrats, but then went on to attack specific members of his own party. As officials of the national G.O.P. apparatus, he and Pauley are both supposedly neutral in primaries, but Anderson exhorted the coalition to support "pro-family" primary contenders, especially in California, where, he said, "people better help out [Bruce] Herschensohn" against moderate Tom Campbell.

Anderson further confided that although officially the N.R.S.C. would have to back Senator Arlen Specter in Pennsylvania, he prefers conservative challenger Steve Freind, author of that state's newly restrictive abortion law. Evidently the coalition took this advice to heart; Guy Rodgers said in New York that he was preparing to mail 500,000 "pro-family" guides to G.O.P. voters in Pennsylvania before the April 28 primary there.

The conference's second day was devoted to "turning out the Christian vote in 1992." Aside from an impressive display of technical knowledge, what emerged in lectures by Reed and Rodgers was a cynically realistic attitude toward voters and elections. "In any good voter-turnout election—I'm talking about a presidential election," explained Rodgers, "only 15 percent of the eligible voters determine the outcome. . . . How could that be? Of all adults 18 and over who are eligible, only about 60-65 percent are registered to vote. And of those registered, only 50 percent actually vote. . . . Now in low-turnout elections—city council, state legislature, county commission—the percentage of those who determine who wins can be as low as 6 or 7 percent!"

He paused. "Is this sinking in? We don't have to worry about convincing a majority of Americans to agree with us. Most of them are staying home and watching *Falcon Crest*. They're not involved, they're not voting, so who cares?"

That, he added, is "why the feminists are so terrified of *Roe v. Wade* being overturned. We have the bodies. What we're endeavoring to do in Christian Coalition is get the Christians out of the churches and into the precincts. We build a conduit into the churches where we can funnel information in and funnel people out."

Anticipating a crucial Supreme Court decision on *Roe v. Wade* this spring, the coalition has spent months preparing for pitched battle against the pro-choice forces in Washington and the state capitals. On the weekend of April 5, as feminist banners filled the Washington Mall, every Christian Coalition member in the country received an "actiongram" from Reed, urging an immediate lobbying campaign against the Freedom of Choice Act now pending in Congress. If passed, it would put a major crimp in the Christian Coalition's strategy of restricting abortion rights by winning control of state legislatures. In the meantime, however, coalition activists will be supplying an abortion litmus test to every incumbent or insurgent running this year. Electing "our kind of people,"

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as Rodgers said last November, "is the most effective form of lobbying there is."

After distributing hundreds of costly kits and manuals, Rodgers and Reed took the audience step by step through the process of identifying "pro-family" voters in their counties with a telephone canvass. It's a massive, tedious job, which is why the troops were being motivated to start phoning immediately. Rodgers claimed that 5,000 such "precinct action kits"—each potentially worth hundreds of names—had already been distributed across the country by last fall. Again, there was a clearly partisan emphasis. "You have to pick and choose," Rodgers urged. "You don't do voter ID in a precinct that votes 97 percent Democrat." Or, as Reed said, "There are no Dukakis Democrats on our lists. We don't want to communicate with them. We don't even want them to know there's an election."

Robertson is looking well beyond the 1992 election.

Here's how it works. Once the canvasser chooses a target precinct, the phone script is quite simple. "Do you usually vote for Republican or Democratic candidates? In 1988, did you support George Bush or Michael Dukakis?" If the voter answers Democrat and Dukakis, the conversation is politely terminated and a new voter is dialed. "Now as soon as we know who the Democratic nominee for '92 is gonna be," Reed blurted, "we'll be asking that question."

Then, after a query about abortion (for use in post-Roe state elections), the canvasser moves briskly to the voter's all-important "issue burden"—the issue that most bothers that particular voter. This information allows computerized manipulation of individual voters. With names properly coded, a canned but seemingly personalized paragraph on any of thirty or forty issues—from pornographic art to roads and sewers—may then be laser-printed into an otherwise generic mailing.

When combined with heavily biased "voter guides," the effect of this technology can be stunning. The Christian Coalition used precisely those techniques to elect conservative Republicans in seven out of nine State Senate races in the

Virginia Beach area. Carefully recounting the results, Reed called those local elections "a text that worked brilliantly." The Christian Coalition's antiabortion candidates had bamboozled an overwhelmingly pro-choice electorate by focusing their direct mail and phone canvasses on such local issues as water shortage, traffic, crime and education.

"Many of our people who were doing this voter ID also happened to be precinct captains for the Republican Party," Reed explained with a little smile. In other words, there's an easy way around the laws that prohibit tax-exempt groups from influencing elections—even on the federal level. "What you can do is either have the candidate purchase [the voter ID lists] or, as I said, if you're a precinct captain for both the candidate and the coalition . . . well, hey," he shrugged, "it just so happens you work for two organizations."

As an example, he said, "We're gonna be doing a lot of voter ID in that California Senate [primary] race. We can't take a position, but if [our] people ID voters on behalf of the Dannemeyer campaign, that's fine with us." Gay-bashing Representative William Dannemeyer, now running for the Senate against moderate Republican John Seymour, is a coalition favorite.

Although the Christian Coalition's members are deeply immersed in the current election cycle, Robertson is looking well beyond 1992. At the conference, coalition activists were introduced to the mind-numbing intricacies of becoming a delegate to the G.O.P. convention and, eventually, a member of the Republican National Committee. "Our key objective for Christian Coalition long term," confided a California operative, "would be to take control of the R.N.C. . . . Impossible task? Absolutely not. But it isn't gonna happen unless every one of you registers as a county central committee member."

Already several Christian Coalition leaders hold seats on the R.N.C., and Morton Blackwell, the veteran conservative who is an R.N.C. member from Virginia, is helping Robertson to recruit more. At the conference's closing banquet Robertson declared his timetable explicitly. "We want to see a working majority of the Republican Party in the hands of pro-family Christians," he said, "by 1996 or sooner."

Robertson's scheme is admittedly not a modest one, and neither is his attempt to unite Protestant fundamentalists, divided among themselves by various religious doctrines, with conservative Catholic and Eastern Orthodox voters, who aren't considered "saved." To achieve it all will require years, not months, of patient, skillful organizing. But in addition to substantial funding and dazzling technical prowess, the Christian Coalition prospers from a lack of competition. Nobody else, right or left, is daring to mount a grass-roots effort on this scale.

If they succeed, Robertson and his followers will transform the Republican Party into a Christian patriotic front even more authoritarian and bigoted than today's G.O.P. While he tried to sound like a reasonable conservative in 1988, Robertson now raves about one-worldist plots by the "money elites" of the Eastern Establishment. His latest book, *The New World Order*, nails fellow Yale Bush as a Trilateralist, thus reviving



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the age-old conspiracy doctrines that go back to the Bavarian Illuminati. Even worse, the President is an "unwitting agent" of Lucifer. (Robertson anticipates a "Christian in the White House by the year 2000.")

Still more disturbing than Robertson's bizarre ideas, however, is the nasty mood of his followers. The "Road to Victory" conference ended on the night of the Louisiana gubernatorial election, and as they drifted out of the closing banquet, coalition leaders gathered in the lobby to watch the returns on CNN. The majority were clearly disappointed by David Duke's defeat. Among them was Billy McCormick, the chairman of the Louisiana Christian Coalition, who'd sat at Robertson's right hand that evening and was introduced as the man who inspired Pat to found the coalition. McCormick,

having supported Duke for governor and vouched publicly for the neo-Nazi's devout Christianity, has followed Robertson's lead. He is now the vice chairman of the Bush campaign in Louisiana.

By November the coalition's cadre will be conducting their electoral guerrilla tactics on behalf of Republicans from Bush down—churning out voter guides, firing off direct mail, cranking up phone banks. Will Robertson get away with abusing a tax-exempt organization to pursue his partisan political agenda? The moderate Republicans are scarcely aware of what he's doing, and the Democrats don't even have a clue.

For the record, Ralph Reed claims that his group does not "advocate the election or defeat of candidates in our publications, including voter guides." He also insists that the "Road

'God's Air Force'

FREDERICK CLARKSON

The National Religious Broadcasters convention in Washington, D.C., is a trade show like no other. For five days in January, some 7,000 broadcasters and staff, vendors, political cause-mongers, booksellers and others seeking exposure in the "Christian market" met at the Sheraton Washington hotel. Like defense contractors or auto-parts dealers, the TV and radio evangelists gather to demonstrate their political clout and to network. The N.R.B. is where American political and business styles meet evangelical Christianity.

At this year's gathering of "God's Air Force," as they sometimes call themselves, a variety of tensions popped up between the Christian right and moderate Republicans, including President Bush. Simultaneously, the N.R.B. was struggling for the social acceptance and image of probity it has always craved. Thus the President's convention speech came at a mutually crucial moment. Bush was facing the Buchanan challenge and needed to reassert his credentials to the right. The broadcasters, rocked once again by scandals, needed the quick fix of respectability by association that only a President can confer. Bush pushed all the right evangelical buttons in his N.R.B. address—his sixth as President or Vice President. He was pro-school prayer, pro-school choice and antiabortion. He crowed about Iraq, praised our boys and declared, "I want to thank you for helping America, as Christ ordained, to be a light unto the world." He and Barbara were warmly received. Nevertheless, some Bush critics had prepared an ambush.

The morning of Bush's speech, he was greeted by a full-page ad in *The Washington Times* urging support for \$10 billion in loan guarantees for Israel. The ad was sponsored by the Traditional Values Coalition (T.V.C.) and signed by N.R.B. leaders, including president David Clark and a host of Christian Zionists, notably Jerry Falwell and author Hal Lindsay. The night before, an Israel

Solidarity rally, sponsored by the Christians' Israel Public Action Campaign, convened in a ballroom of the hotel. The host, president of CIPAC Richard Hellman, suggested that the poor state of the U.S. economy, the President's illness in Japan and storm damage to his house in Kennebunkport, Maine, were messages from God.

As Hellman later told me at the T.V.C. press conference after Bush's speech: "I did point out certain interesting coincidences. One day the President said there were a thousand lobbyists up on the Hill speaking out on behalf of loan guarantees for Israel—as if those of us who were up there were somehow doing something that was illegal or un-American. . . . And it was very shortly after that that his house was blown in. . . . And the fact that one day the U.S. strongly condemned Israel in the U.N., in more harsh language than was used against Iraq . . . the very next day we did witness the quite literally terrifying view of our President stricken, many of us thought almost as though dead, before our very eyes in the paper and on television."

"One might say these are just coincidences," he intoned. "But I think that if it were I, and I were leading a nation that had gone through the worst quarter economically in thirty years . . . I would start to wonder if there was something more I could do. What more might I do for my nation, including what more might I do to bless Israel, so that my nation in turn would be blessed?"

The CIPAC rally also turned up a fascinating example of the importance of the Christian right in internal Republican Party politics. Hellman announced awards to Representative Tom Lantos and to Senators Orrin Hatch and Arlen Specter as "Defenders of Israel," and to *Washington Post* writer Lally Weymouth for her Middle East reporting. Senator Specter sent aide Tom Bowman to accept the award on his behalf. Bowman, Hellman announced, was the Pennsylvania coordinator for televangelist Pat Robertson's 1988 presidential campaign. Specter, who supports abortion rights, is facing a challenge in the Republican primary from right-wing State Representative Steve Freind—the main sponsor of the Pennsylvania antiabortion legislation now before the U.S. Supreme Court. Freind, who believes that Specter is using Bowman to raid his conservative Christian constituency, hosted a reception at the convention.

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to Victory" conference was "non-partisan" and merely taught participants "how to identify pro-family voters (without regard to party affiliation or support for candidates), and how to distribute non-partisan voter guides, which inform voters on where candidates stand on the key issues facing America."

Of course, it's the Internal Revenue Service that is supposed to police this kind of political scam. But the I.R.S. is still investigating Pat's last venture into tax-free politicking, the defunct Freedom Council, which played an important role in 1987 preparing the way for his presidential campaign. Robertson and his cohort don't exactly seem scared. Perhaps they reckon that by the time the I.R.S. or anyone else gets around to auditing the Christian Coalition, they'll already be canvassing precincts for President Quayle. □

In 1988, following the Jimmy Swaggart and Jim and Tammy Faye Bakker scandals, the N.R.B. established the Ethics and Financial Integrity Commission (EFICOM), which laid down reporting requirements for nonprofit broadcasters with revenues of over \$150,000 a year. For-profit broadcasters (currently there are about 170) and foreign members are exempt. Also exempt are members of an independent group, the Evangelical Council for Financial Accountability.

Recently ABC's *PrimeTime Live* exposed up-and-coming Dallas televangelist Larry Lea for financial improprieties. This latest scandal reveals the weaknesses of the self-regulating EFICOM system. The N.R.B. admitted that Lea had failed to comply with EFICOM reporting requirements for almost a year. During the N.R.B. conference, Clark announced that about 162 members and prospective members had just been dropped. "We're policing our ranks," Clark declared, "and this is not easy." On closer questioning by reporters, Clark admitted that the 162 were actually being given one last chance to comply. Clark told *Christianity Today* magazine that the effectiveness of EFICOM is limited. "If someone has a larcenous soul," he said, "and wants to steal or be dishonest or immoral, EFICOM regulations will not prevent that, nor will any other type of law."

On the other hand, the N.R.B. is lobbying for federal legislation to re-regulate the cable industry. It wants a proviso that local cable systems "must carry" local broadcasts, including religious broadcasters. In this regard, Clark told reporters at a press conference "one of the best lines I ever heard" was by Florida televangelist and N.R.B. board member D. James Kennedy: "The aphorism that you can't regulate morality is totally wrong. That's all you can regulate. That's what law is about."

Frederick Clarkson is writing a monograph on the Christian right for Political Research Associates, based in Cambridge, Massachusetts. His work has appeared in such publications as Church & State, Mother Jones, and The Quayle Quarterly.

EDITORIALS

(Continued From Page 545)

Given the ethnic mix of the republic—whose population of 4.4 million is one-third Serb, one-fifth Croat and two-fifths Muslim—the plan would require dividing provinces, towns and even bedrooms. Negotiations on the plan, seen by many as a recipe for population transfer, created enormous anxiety among all nationalities. Then the E.C. countries recognized Bosnia on April 6 but, under pressure from Greece, refused to recognize Macedonia, whose independence the Badinter commission approved. The apparent lesson: War pays.

The crisis in Yugoslavia is political, not ethnic. It has grown out of submerged national tensions, but it has been given life by the lack of democracy. In the post-Communist Yugoslav republics, majority-based political institutions and the absence of an active civil society mean that minority views are suppressed and citizens' access to political debate is extremely limited. There are moderate and pluralistic voices of great courage, as shown by the extraordinary people's assembly in Sarajevo. But the E.C. and other organizations—and most media—have ignored their proposals for building an alternative politics in the south Slav region. This neglect marks perhaps the greatest of the international community's miscalculations, which have played into the hands of the nationalist extremists in all ethnic groups. The E.C. and the United States may hope that recognition will bring peace. But if the Bosnian conflict becomes, as many fear, the war that never ends, they will have to share the blame.

ANTHONY BORDEN

Anthony Borden is co-editor of Breakdown: War and Reconstruction in Yugoslavia, a dossier recently published by "Yugofax," a London-based newsletter on the crisis.

NEXT WEEK

Bruce Shapiro on
The New Alliance Party—
Sowing Confusion on the Left

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EXHIBIT 13

NYT - 4/7/93

Falwell Group Fined for Political Acts

By ROBERT D. HERSHEY Jr.

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 6 — After a four-year examination of groups affiliated with the Rev. Jerry Falwell, the conservative evangelist, the Internal Revenue Service has won agreement from his broadcast ministry to pay \$50,000 in taxes for engaging in political activity in 1986 and 1987.

The agency found that the assets and personnel of the ministry, the Old Time Gospel Hour, were used to raise money for a political action committee in violation of laws prohibiting tax-exempt bodies from participating or intervening in political campaigns on behalf of candidates. The I.R.S. did not identify the political action committee.

But a spokesman for Mr. Falwell, Mark DeMoss, said the committee mentioned in the settlement was the I Love America Committee, formed by a Moral Majority official (not Mr. Falwell) to back various Congressional Candidates. It no longer exists, he said, nor does the Moral Majority, a lobbying group created by Mr. Falwell.

The I.R.S. also revoked the tax-exempt status of another Falwell organization, the Liberty Federation, after determining that it did not operate solely for religious and charitable purposes, a ruling that was not contested.

Settlement Not Circulated

The settlement, which revoked the Old Time Gospel Hour's tax-free status for the two years, was disclosed in a public statement signed in mid-February by Mr. Falwell as president of the ministry, an arm of the Thomas Road Baptist Church in Lynchburg, Va. But it did not circulate widely enough to satisfy the I.R.S., which under 1987 legislation, has been cracking down on abuses by tax-exempt organizations. In recent days, the agency itself has been calling the settlement to the attention of news organizations.

Mr. DeMoss charged that the I.R.S. efforts to publicize the settlement were a violation of the agreement, which called on the gospel hour to mail its settlement statement to designated news organizations. "We did that, and for two weeks nobody inquired about it," Mr. DeMoss said. The I.R.S., he



The Rev. Jerry Falwell

said, seems eager to persuade Congress it was getting results from a large number of audits it conducted after being urged to do so by lawmakers.

Frank Keith, a spokesman, said the agency had become concerned about a

Too much was rendered unto Caesar.

seeming increase in "mis-impressions" among tax-exempt groups that they can ignore strictures barring political activity. The I.R.S. in December 1991 assessed the Jimmy Swaggart Ministries \$171,122 in back taxes and interest for 1985 and 1986.

The agreement with the Old Time Gospel Hour also requires changes in its organizational structure to prevent future violations.

Contributors to the gospel hour during the two-year revocation period will not have to revise their tax returns for those years as long as they were unaware of the political activity, the statement said. The I.R.S. would not say whether Mr. Falwell himself was found to be responsible for the abuse of tax-exemption or whether he was penalized.

The examination also led to an affirmation of tax-exempt status in 1991 for the Liberty Broadcasting Network and for Liberty University.

Mayonnaise Blamed for Illnesses in Oregon

GRANTS PASS, Ore., April 5 (AP) — Salad dressings and sauces made with mayonnaise were the source of a bacterial infection that made at least 13 people ill after eating at two Oregon restaurants, a state epidemiologist said Monday.

It remains unclear how the mayonnaise was contaminated by the bacteria E. coli, which is normally associated with meat, said the epidemiologist, Dr. Katrina Hedberg.

Five cases of E. coli infection have been confirmed and 12 were considered probable among patrons of a Sizzler franchise in North Bend, while eight

cases were confirmed and 37 probable from another Sizzler about 70 miles away in Grants Pass, Dr. Hedberg said. People who became ill ate at the restaurants in mid-March.

The franchisee, Double S Foods of Springfield, voluntarily closed both restaurants for a week. They reopened Friday.

Christopher Thomas, executive vice president for Sizzler International Inc. in Los Angeles, said that health officials could not recommend any changes in food handling procedures that would have prevented the outbreak.

ED 043344

EXHIBIT 14

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Roll Call

October 26, 1992

LENGTH: 2120 words

HEADLINE: Religious Right's Activity in Congressional Races Draws FEC Complaint From Dems
Is <Tax-Exempt> Christian Coalition 'Targeting' Reps. Like Williams, Skaggs, Glickman?

BYLINE: By Mary Jacoby

BODY:

A month after televangelist <Pat Robertson's> Christian Coalition opened a state office in Montana last January, the organization held a conference in Helena. The topic: "God's Building an Army."

Ralph Reed, the Christian Coalition's executive director, exhorted the crowd, "We're going to see Pat Williams sent bags packing back to Montana in November of this year, and I'm going to be here to help you do it." At least that's what the Democratic National Committee says he said in an eight-page complaint filed last week with the Federal <Election> Commission.

Williams's sin: support in 1989 for the National Endowment for the Arts, which funded art the conservative Christian Coalition considered pornographic.

Reed vehemently denies he targeted Williams, Montana's Democratic Congressman who was thrown into a dogfight with fellow Rep. Ron Marlenee (R) this year when one of the state's two Congressional districts was eliminated through redistricting (see page 13). But Montana news organizations - and Williams's <campaign,> of course - say they have transcripts from tapes of the conference that show otherwise.

But whatever was said, one fact cannot be denied: The Virginia-based evangelical organization has greatly increased its political activity this year, and in the process has drawn fire for appearing to violate its <tax-exempt> status.

The Democratic Congressional <Campaign> Committee has identified more than two dozen races in which the 350,000-member Christian Coalition is active, including matchups between Ted Strickland (D) and Rep. Bob McEwen (R) in Ohio, Elizabeth Furse (D) and Tony Meeker (R) in Oregon, and Rep. Charlie Wilson (D) and Donna Peterson (R) in Texas.

Reed says the organization, founded by Robertson three years ago after his failed <1988 presidential> bid, has collected \$13 million since then. This year, it has distributed 40 million voter-issues guides in every state of the nation - a canvassing far more comprehensive than in 1990, when it focused on only seven states.

The Christian Coalition is not the only player on the block, however. Also active in this <election> are Don Wildmon's American Family Association and Phyllis Schlafly's Eagle Forum.

The AFA, based in Tupelo, Miss., focuses on eliminating pornography and promoting "biblical ethics." The Eagle Forum led the battle to defeat the Equal Rights Amendment and opposes feminism.

And in the South, a home-grown network of fundamentalist and conservative churches is hitting stride this year, moving in from the margins to have a real impact on some races.

"Historically, they thought it violated the church and state idea," says University of Georgia political science professor Charles Bullock of fundamentalist groups' attitudes toward political activity. "But back in the '70s (Moral Majority leader Jerry) Falwell, <Pat Robertson,> and Jim and Tammy Faye Bakker began to change all that. It became acceptable.... What we're seeing now is the result. They've gotten more organized."

The result is anxiety for Democrats and a boost to many Republicans, who might have remained marginal in previous years.

In Colorado, fundamentalist minister Bryan Day is mounting a surprisingly strong challenge as the Republican challenger to three-term Democratic Rep. David Skaggs. There, the local Christian Coalition chapter has joined forces with a group called Citizens for Responsible Government.

Their tactics mirror those of religious and conservative groups nationwide and include distributing leaflets with pictures of aborted fetuses, organizing registration drives through churches, and distributing voter guides stressing

opposition to abortion, homosexual rig higher taxes, and unlimited terms for office holders.

Although Colorado's 2nd Congressional district encompasses Denver's northern suburbs and the liberal-leaning college town of Boulder, Skaggs is facing anti-incumbent wrath stoked by Day's trumpeting of family-values issues, often from the pulpit of his church in Arvada, Colo.

A Skaggs <campaign> aide said religious forces are much stronger in Colorado this year than in the past. When Skaggs faced conservative Republican David Bath in <1988,> "the right wing of the party was not very well organized. They were not very well funded. And there wasn't very much anti-incumbent sentiment," the aide said.

In Kansas, meanwhile, Rep. Dan Glickman (D) is struggling after 16 years on the Hill to defeat state Sen. Eric Yost, a Republican who enjoys strong backing from Kansas pro-life groups. Glickman's <campaign> said the Christian Coalition has targeted the Congressman for defeat - a claim the Yost <campaign> calls "whining."

In the Kansas race, the Christian Coalition is taking a back seat to the pro-life groups, which have been registering voters through the churches. A member of the Whip organization and an Agriculture subcommittee chairman, Glickman, who is pro-choice, is vulnerable because of his 105 overdrafts at the House Bank.

The Eagle Forum is running an independent-expenditure <campaign> attacking Glickman on his overdrafts and his support for abortion rights and the 1989 Congressional pay raise.

Wichita is the 4th district's largest city, and it was the site in 1991 of Operation Rescue's blockade of abortion clinics - an event that energized the right, both Glickman and Yost <campaign> aides agree. "We have seen a real surge in talk in the churches," said Kay Coles, Glickman's <campaign> manager. Both sides attribute the tight race to the religious right's efforts.

Although churches are now building a strong political network in the West and Midwest, the South has always had a tradition of mixing religion and politics, said Bullock, the University of Georgia professor.

But mirroring the trend nationwide, the churches are playing even more important roles than usual, Bullock said. He pointed to several Georgia Congressional races to illustrate his point.

In Georgia's 4th district, for example, yard signs and newspaper ads announced the visit Oct. 11 of Oliver North and Jerry Falwell to Sunday services at the First Baptist Church of Snellville, an Atlanta suburb.

The visit of those right-wing heroes, less than a month before the <election,> unnerved workers in the <campaign> of Cathey Steinberg, the Democratic nominee for the Atlanta-area seat. Steinberg is pro-choice, female, and Jewish.

"They can't really <campaign> in church," said Steinberg's <campaign> manager, Phyllis Mueller. "But so close to the <election,> you gotta wonder...."

Steinberg's opponent, Republican John Linder, makes the rounds of Baptist churches in the area, showing up in Sunday services, where he'll often be pointed out from the pulpit. It's not really a political appearance, said Gerry Sisk, a spokeswoman for the First Baptist Church in Snellville, where Linder has worshipped.

But with North's and Falwell's appearance at a church that Linder, a strong abortion foe, also sometimes attends, "it can't help but help," Sisk said. Although the visit wasn't planned to coincide with the <election,> Sisk and Mueller from the Steinberg <campaign> both said it creates an "atmosphere" that can help Republicans and hurt Democrats.

Steinberg and Linder are competing for an open seat created by redistricting. Rep. Ben Jones (D) represented the 4th until redistricting moved him into the 10th district, where he lost the primary in July.

In another Georgia race with religious overtones, Republican Daniel Becker is waging a losing battle, according to polls, to defeat state Sen. Nathan Deal for the 9th district seat vacated by retiring Rep. Ed Jenkins (D).

Becker, who gained notoriety for airing a graphic anti-abortion television ad last summer during an Atlanta Braves baseball game, is running with the slogan, "Restore Moral Government." In the week before the <election> he plans to air another controversial ad - a 30-minute "infomercial" featuring footage of a surgeon performing an actual abortion.

In a possible violation of their <tax-exempt> status, local Christian Coalition members communicate with Becker's <campaign.>

"They talk on the phone with them fairly often and coordinate" activities,

said John Taylor, Becker's press secretary. But, Taylor said, the Christian Coalition is not the main force behind Becker's <campaign.>

If the DNC has its way, the Christian Coalition will have to cease communicating with candidates like Becker or register as a partisan political organization and list its contributions and donors.

Under FEC rules, a <tax-exempt> organization is prohibited from donating to or participating in a <campaign.> It may, however, print brochures advocating positions on issues, like abortion or the national deficit. But it must stop short of endorsing a specific candidate.

In its FEC complaint, the DNC criticized the Christian Coalition for allowing Republican party leaders - including President Bush, National Republican Congressional Committee Chairman Guy Vander Jagt (Mich), and conservative California Reps. Robert Dornan and William Dannemeyer - to address its meetings.

The complaint also accused the organization of coordinating work with Sen. Jesse Helms's (R-NC) 1990 reelection effort, and it quoted Robertson as saying, "My goal is to see a pro-freedom majority in the United States Senate by 1992 and a reversal of leadership in the House of Representatives by 1996."

Reed, however, reiterates that the Christian Coalition stays within legal bounds. But he does admit - proudly - that the group's clout has grown as its strategy has become more savvy.

"After Robertson's defeat, the (religious right's) efforts shifted from national to local and state offices," Reed said. "They've been working on winning school board, state legislature, and county races, and that has enhanced their power, because those races are a low-risk laboratory where they can hone their talents.

"Involvement in a political party credentials you. It's one thing to be, say, the chairman of the local Pro-Family Option Council. It's quite another thing to be chairman of the state or county Republican party," Reed said.

Although Reed denies the Christian Coalition targets races, he does admit the group's goal is "to see a pro-family majority in Congress." But, he says, "That might not necessarily come from defeating people or electing them but from being so popular at the grass-roots level" that conservative values are represented naturally in all facets of life, including the polls.

LEVEL 1 - 25 OF 97 STORIES

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HEADLINE: All-Purpose Loophole

BYLINE: BY RICHARD E. COHEN AND CAROL MATLACK; Research assistance by Gale Mitchell and Tanya A. Zielinski

HIGHLIGHT:

Some politicians and political activists have been using <tax-exempt> organizations to finance their activities. That comes close to skirting the tax code's intent.

BODY:

Last year, the Republican National Committee (RNC) figured it needed to spend at least \$ 1 million on the massive task of organizing <election> data before the states prepare their redistricting maps in 1991. Now, the GOP plans to get some of that politically valuable data free -- courtesy of a new group that runs on tax-deductible dollars.

The attorneys who organized the group, Lawyers for the Republic Inc., have served in high-level Republican posts and received a \$ 50,000 start-up loan from the RNC. But they emphasize that their organization is autonomous and nonpartisan, as required for <tax-exempt> status by the tax law. "All we are trying to do is get the information to any people interested in redistricting," said Robert E. Freer Jr., a Washington lawyer who is founder and chairman of the group.

So far, however, Republicans are far more familiar with the services promised by Freer's operation than Democrats are. "We expect to use the data," said Thomas B. Hofeller, director of redistricting and list development at the National Republican Congressional Committee. "There have already been discussions."

Freer has participated in meetings with Republicans on redistricting strategy but has not attended any such Democratic sessions. His initial efforts were chiefly with the GOP because, he said, "I didn't know many Democrats. I'm involved with the Republican network." He wrote to Democratic National Committee (DNC) chairman Ronald H. Brown on Nov. 14, inviting Democrats to use his services, but the invitation was rebuffed. A DNC aide called it "a disguise for overtly Republican schemes" and said Brown will not cooperate. (For more on redistricting, see box, p. 2986.)

Welcome to the world of <tax-exempt> organizations, the all-purpose loophole for politicians and other citizens trying to save dollars and cut corners. It is an industry filled with many meritorious organizations but one in which enforcement is often lax and creative lawyers and accountants can find new ways to merge charity with politics.

Republicans aren't the only ones who've discovered this loophole. During the <1988 election,> Senate Majority Whip Alan Cranston, D-Calif., helped to set up and raise millions of dollars for <tax-exempt> groups to encourage voters to register, chiefly in low-income neighborhoods in California. Some workers in the voter registration effort have said it was understood that their job was to register Democrats, but Cranston aides said that this would have been against the organizations' policy.

The Cranston groups have recently been the focus of special attention because \$ 850,000 came from savings and loan executive Charles H. Keating Jr., who has been accused of showering money on Cranston and four other Senators so that they would, in turn, help him win favorable treatment from federal regulators. The FBI is reportedly investigating. (See box, p. 2983.)

Although tax laws flatly prohibit the use of tax-deductible contributions for partisan political activity, such money is often used to lay the groundwork for political <campaigns.> Five candidates in the <1988 presidential> contest had <tax-exempt> groups, ostensibly doing research and educational activities, in the months preceding their <campaigns.> In contrast with the candidates' <campaign> funds, these groups could receive unlimited, tax-deductible sums from contributors, and they were not required to disclose a penny. One of the groups, founded by Republican candidate Marion G. (<Pat>) Robertson,> was accused of spending tax-deductible dollars to recruit convention delegates. (See box, p. 2985.)

Further impetus to the spread of <tax-exempt> groups took place in mid-November right under the Capitol dome, when lawmakers approved a potentially huge loophole in their pay raise-ethics package. By accepting an eventual ban on honoraria, Members of Congress agreed to stop pocketing this money from interest groups. But they added a new wrinkle. In the future, interest groups can continue to donate money to a Member's favorite charity, so long as the charity is sanctioned as <tax-exempt> by the Internal Revenue Service (IRS).

According to a House aide who helped to draft the provision, honoraria to charities will irresistibly become a booming industry. Members will receive a clear political benefit by taking credit for the donation -- and will be ensnared in the same conflict-of-interest problems posed by honoraria. The opportunity is revealed by a National Journal review of Members' <1988> financial disclosure forms, which showed that 51 Senators and 146 House Members were founders, officers or directors of <tax-exempt> organizations.

SACRED COW

Many of Washington's rules do not apply to the <tax-exempt> organizations. At a time when the government is scratching for every available dollar, groups eligible for tax-deductible donations receive roughly \$ 50 billion annually in contributions that the donors claim as deductions from their income-tax payments.

And <tax-exempts> are a growth industry: The number of religious, charitable and educational groups -- known collectively as 501(c)(3) organizations after the section of the tax code that governs their <tax-exempt> status -- has increased more than 50 per cent in the past decade to 432,700. (Roughly 400,000 other organizations, including a wide range of interest groups and trade and

professional associations, are also <tax-exempt>. Unlike 501(c)(3) groups, however, their donors cannot take a tax deduction.)

But Congress pays scant attention to this pool of money and how it is spent. The issue was taken off the table during the wide-ranging overhaul that led to the 1986 Tax Reform Act.

All <tax-exempt> groups with annual revenues of more than \$ 25,000 are required to file annual returns, and the IRS says that because of the effective federal subsidy they enjoy, <tax-exempts> are about twice as likely to be audited as are individuals and businesses. Overt political activity "is a surefire way to get examined if you're an exempt organization," said Marcus S. Owens, executive assistant in the IRS exempt organizations technical division. Still, many organizations don't publicize their activities. And each year, only 2.5 per cent of exempt groups are audited.

Pressure occasionally surfaces for tougher enforcement actions against <tax-exempt> groups, said Sheldon S. Cohen, the IRS commissioner from 1965-69 who is a tax attorney with the Washington office of the Philadelphia law firm of Morgan, Lewis and Bockius. "But it dies because there are not enough revenues to make it worthwhile for the commissioner," he said. "As Willie Sutton said, you go where the money is. . . . It's a vicious circle. Principles come into play that are never reexamined."

Adding to the status quo inertia are long-standing fears that the IRS could be used to punish political opponents and reward allies. Such charges surfaced during the House's impeachment investigation of President Nixon. One of the Judiciary Committee's three impeachment articles charged that Nixon sought information from tax returns in violation of constitutional rights.

If <tax-exempt> groups have become the ultimate sacred cow, the result has been widely accepted as legitimate policy because many of these institutions undeniably serve the public interest. Who, after all, wants to tax the revenues of the hometown church, university, Red Cross chapter or Girl Scout troop? A problem, however, is that not all groups to which the IRS has granted the preferred tax status appear so obviously charitable.

One of the worst abuses was revealed in 1987, when conservative fund raiser Carl (Spitz) Channell pleaded guilty to illegal use of tax-deductible contributions to help finance the Nicaraguan contras and to run advertisements against Democratic House Members who had voted against contra aid. That incident led to enactment of a limited set of reforms later that year. Rep. J. J. Pickle, D-Texas, who chairs the Ways and Means Oversight Subcommittee, which prepared the legislation, had been a Channell target.

Most <tax-exempt> groups, both in Washington and across the nation, are so obscure or so seemingly public-spirited that they attract attention only on the rare occasions when one of them generates controversy. But a growing roster of these groups have financed advertising, seminars or other activities that skate close to the edge of political activity.

In recent weeks, for example, the Planned Parenthood Federation of America Inc. has run advertisements in the home district of seven House Members, attacking their anti-abortion voting records. Although the federation insists that the ads are purely educational, they have all the sophistication of a <campaign> appeal. (See box, this page.)

The IRS, however, has been reluctant to clamp down. Last May, the agency ruled that television and radio spots aired by a <tax-exempt> antiwar group during the last weeks of the 1984 <presidential campaign> did not constitute partisan political activity because, though the ads appeared to support Walter F. Mondale's candidacy, they did not mention his name. And courts have generally barred private citizens and groups from challenging an organization's <tax-exempt> status unless they can prove that they have suffered harm as a result.

"The IRS doesn't want to open the door because there is a monster on the other side," said Ed Zuckerman, who publishes a newsletter, PACs & Lobbies, and is one of the few Washington reporters who monitors the <tax-exempts>.

UNANSWERED QUESTIONS

When Members of Congress establish their own <tax-exempt> organizations, a host of other questions arise. For one thing, there's the possibility of influence-peddling with donors, an issue raised by the Cranston-Keating case.

The commingling of public and private money is another concern. Under House

and Senate rules, Members cannot use private funds to subsidize performance of their official duties. Nor can they use their office budgets for unofficial purposes. But some Members' <tax-exempt> groups are so closely intertwined with their congressional offices that it's hard to tell whether the rules are being heeded.

Gregg W. Waddell, a former aide to Rep. Newt Gingrich, R-Ga., said that during the time he was employed in Gingrich's House office, he also worked as an unpaid volunteer for the American Opportunity Foundation, a 501(c)(3) group that Gingrich founded in 1984 to promote conservative policies. (Simultaneously, Gingrich set up a separate group, American Opportunity, that could engage in lobbying but could not accept tax-deductible contributions.)

The Gingrich organizations, which sponsored a series of seminars and meetings around the country in 1984 and 1985, had no full-time staffs, although a local lawyer kept their records at his offices. Waddell, now a graduate student at Duke University, said that his volunteer work for the groups was done only during lunch hours, evenings and weekends. But he said that the groups' plans and activities were regularly discussed in the congressional office. "Newt might think of a project he wanted to undertake, and if we decided that the proper means was not in the congressional office," the project would be assigned to one of the two groups, Waddell said. The groups were "basically just a vehicle for him to do things, . . . to give him some financial resources to travel, to make speeches, that he couldn't use his congressional money for."

Dan Swillinger, a Washington lawyer who oversees the Gingrich organizations' finances, likened the arrangement to a Member's using official funds for some activities and <campaign> funds for other activities -- an arrangement that is widely accepted on Capitol Hill.

The two groups have been dormant for the past few years and are now being shut down. But arguably, they achieved a purpose: Gingrich, a relatively junior Member, is now House minority whip, the chamber's second-ranking Republican.

Like many other parts of the tax law, the rules covering <tax-exempt> organizations are anything but simple. Bruce R. Hopkins, a lawyer with the Washington law firm of Baker and Hostetler, told the Ways and Means Committee in 1987 that "there really are probably 50 or 60 or 70 different types of <tax-exempt> organizations" listed in section 501(c). The requirements for each category often leave considerable room for interpretation.

Those in the biggest category, 501(c)(3), in theory operate under the strictest rules. They cannot engage in direct or indirect political <campaign> activities or in what the code calls "substantial" lobbying. Groups in a second category, 501(c)(4), are exempt from paying federal income taxes but do not qualify for tax-deductible contributions; they can engage in lobbying and in some political activity so long as political action is not the principal purpose. Many Washington interest groups are in this category, and 501(c)(3) groups often set up companion 501(c)(4) organizations to carry out their lobbying and political work. Tax-deductible contributions cannot be transferred from a 501(c)(3) to a 501(c)(4), however. The other major <tax-exempt> players in Washington are in the 501(c)(6) category, chiefly trade associations. They operate under the same restrictions on lobbying and political activity as do 501(c)(4)s.

The activities of television evangelists have probably generated the most public interest in the <tax-exempt> sector. During hearings in 1987, Pickle's subcommittee reviewed the IRS's procedures for classifying well-known church groups such as those headed by Robertson, Jerry Falwell and Jimmy Swaggart. Subsequently, the Justice Department successfully brought its criminal case against evangelist minister Jim Bakker.

When he was IRS commissioner in the late 1960s, Cohen recalled, he revoked the <tax-exempt> status of a comparable group headed by evangelist Billy James Hargis, after concluding that its activities did not qualify it as a church group. "That was the last time that a religious group lost an exemption," Cohen said.

More recently, some liberal 501(c)(3) groups attracted IRS scrutiny in 1987 for their work that year in opposition to the Supreme Court nomination of Robert H. Bork. An initial IRS review concluded that there was no substantial difference between attempting to influence legislation -- the traditional definition of lobbying -- and attempting to influence Senate votes on judicial nominations. But a large coalition of exempt groups, ranging from the American Civil Liberties Union to the Heritage Foundation, protested loudly, and the case was eventually closed without action.

BIPARTISAN COVER

The bipartisan silence has been encouraged on the legislative front because of the complexity of the <tax-exempt> issues and because so many members of both parties benefit from the services of such groups. "It's the issue from hell for the Ways and Means Committee," a committee aide said. "It never goes away." Although the political wings of each party rigorously monitor each other's <tax-exempt> activities, the results have essentially left current practices unchallenged.

In 1985, for example, a handful of Washington lobbyists who were active Democrats organized the National Legislative Educational Foundation, a 501(c)(4) group whose best-known activity was to finance the House Democrats' annual weekend conclave at the Greenbrier resort in West Virginia. In return for donating \$ 5,000-\$ 10,000 apiece, the lobbyists gained the right to hobnob with the lawmakers. House Republicans decided that their best response was flattery, not challenge; with the help of a group of Republican-leaning lobbyists, they have organized similar retreats at various sites outside Washington.

When the Ways and Means Committee took action in 1987 to remedy several problems in this area, it focused on relatively tangential issues such as disclosure of officers and budgets by the <tax-exempts.> The panel left more-basic issues untouched.

Congress also addressed in that law the growing trend of <presidential> candidates' creating <tax-exempt> groups. It agreed to impose stricter limits on tax-deductible money used for political activity. A key solution was a 10 per cent excise tax, not to exceed \$ 5,000, on offending <campaigns.> A Washington tax lawyer, who did not want to be named, said that this solution "may make it easier to abuse" the law because it implicitly invites broad abuses if the candidate is willing to pay the fine. But the IRS's Owens noted that the law gave the agency new authority to crack down by obtaining injunctions against groups that engage in flagrant activity on behalf of a candidate.

The Democratic Congressional <Campaign> Committee has kept a close eye on the activities of Gingrich and has actively publicized them. It also filed a Federal <Election> Commission (FEC) complaint in October <1988> against Republican Mel Hancock during his <campaign> for an open House seat in Missouri, saying he had improperly accepted a <campaign> contribution from a taxpayers' watchdog group under his control; 11 months later, and after winning <election,> Hancock agreed to pay a \$ 2,000 penalty to the FEC.

The National Republican Senatorial Committee, for its part, conducted an extensive review in 1987-88 of Citizen Action, a liberal Chicago-based 501(c)(4) group that has moved increasingly from the legislative arena to electoral politics. At the instigation of Sen. Robert W. Kasten Jr., R-Wis., the committee in June <1988> filed complaints with the IRS and the FEC. (See NJ, 6/11/88, p. 1550.) There has been no response from those agencies to the complaints; customarily the agencies do not report to the complainant or to the public until they have completed their inquiries.

In the meantime, Kasten this year set up his own <tax-exempt> group. The Legislative Studies Institute brings college students and others interested in seeking jobs on Capitol Hill to Washington for four and a half months of training. Enrollees pay \$ 1,500 tuition, but the institute expects to raise \$ 500,000 this year to subsidize its operations. Its staff consists of two former Kasten aides, and fund-raising is overseen by Herman Pirchner, a Washington consultant who has raised money for Kasten and other GOP candidates. Pirchner declined to identify major donors to the institute, but said most of the money comes "from entities that have not given 2 cents to any Kasten <campaign.> "

ALTERNATIVE ROUTE

But for other politicians, a <tax-exempt> organization can become an alternative route for their regular <campaign> contributors. Senate Minority Leader Robert Dole, R-Kan., in recent years has been promoting the Dole Foundation, which helps disabled individuals to find employment. Ellen S. Miller, the director of the nonpartisan Center for Responsive Politics, which has studied the activities of <tax-exempt> organizations affiliated with politicians, said that she found "a remarkable overlap" in the list of contributors to the foundation and to Dole's Senate <campaign> funds.

The Cranston-Keating case is one of several in which relationships between

Members of Congress and donors to <tax-exempt> organizations have come under scrutiny recently. In July, The Washington Post disclosed that Rep. William L. Dickinson, R-Ala., the ranking minority member of the Armed Services Committee, had raised money from defense contractors to support the <tax-exempt> Institute for the Common Defense, which is run by Anthony S. Makris, a longtime friend and business partner. The institute has carried out few of its announced plans, which included opening a Washington office and starting a political action committee (PAC), but paid Makris at least \$ 105,000 in <1988> and provided honoraria to several Members of Congress last year, The Post reported. Makris failed to return repeated telephone calls from National Journal.

House Armed Services chairman Les Aspin, D-Wis., has established the Aspin Procurement Institute, a Wisconsin-based group that helps local small businesses secure defense contracts. The group is financed partly by business donations and partly by a Defense Logistics Agency grant. Similar groups operate in other states, but none is affiliated with a Member.

And the University of Utah has solicited more than \$ 1.7 million in tax-deductible contributions for its Garn Institute of Finance, named after Sen. Jake Garn, R-Utah, ranking minority member of the Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs Committee. Garn Institute officials say that the Senator does not directly solicit contributions but has spoken at fund-raising dinners -- and virtually all the money given to the institute so far has come from banking and savings and loan interests under the Banking Committee's jurisdiction.

But <tax-exempt> groups, unlike PACs and <campaign> committees, aren't required to disclose their donors. That has caused some grouching among PACs. "We're out there naked for analysis, while all this other stuff is going on," said Steven F. Stockmeyer, executive director of the National Association of Business PACs.

As pressure grows to rein in <campaign> spending and outside income to Members of Congress, the importance of well-placed charitable contributions is likely to increase, too. "Right now, it's gotten to be such an overlay [between political and charitable giving] . . . , your contingency fund for nonprofit giving has to be as big as your PAC," said Jane Scott Brown, who heads a Washington fund-raising firm. "Every nonprofit puts a Congressman on their committee. That's the first thing I think of with a nonprofit client -- how can I work in some political angle? That's the name of the game in town."

EO.04-337-0454

EXHIBIT 15

Select and Special Committees of the Senate

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Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee

430 South Capitol Street SE, 20003. Phone, 224-2447; FAX: 485-3120

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[At press time membership information was not available]

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General Counsel.—Robert Bauer, 887-9030.
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Conrad Burns, Senator from Montana.
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Charles Grassley, Senator from Iowa.
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Connie Mack, Senator from Florida.
Don Nickles, Senator from Oklahoma.
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National Republican Senatorial Committee: 675-6000; FAX: 675-6058.

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Communications Director.—Wendy Burnley.
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Room SH-405, Hart Senate Office Building. Phone, 224-2764

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Republican

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Robert Dole, Senator from Kansas.
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Phil Gramm, Senator from Texas.
Orrin G. Hatch, Senator from Utah.
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Jesse Helms, Senator from North Carolina.
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Trent Lott, Senator from Mississippi.
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Select C

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Room 1

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Roll Call

February 18, 1993

SECTION: Campaigning

LENGTH: 917 words

HEADLINE: Greenberg-Lake Will Split in Dems' Consultant Shuffle

BYLINE: By Stuart Rothenberg

BODY:

The off-year game of musical chairs in the political consulting community that began a few cycles ago is continuing. But this time, much of the shakeup is within the Democratic party after fallout from President Clinton's victory in November.

The biggest news, of course, is the formation of a new Democratic media firm by Mandy Grunwald, the Clinton campaign media whiz formerly of Greer Margolis Mitchell Grunwald & Associates, Carter Eskew, formerly of Squier Eskew Knapp Ochs Communications, and Michael Donilon, formerly of Doak, Shrum, Harris, Sherman & Donilon.

The new firm, Grunwald, Eskew & Donilon, has already moved into office space

on Capitol Hill and is expected to be a major campaign player immediately. All three partners have worked for high-profile clients on the Hill before, and they're expected to bring some of those clients with them for the '94 cycle.

In another significant Democratic development, sources confirm that Greenberg-Lake: The Analysis Group, the highly regarded polling firm, is splitting up. Their past clients include such Democratic Senators as Chris Dodd (Conn), Carol Moseley-Braun (Ill), and Barbara Boxer (Calif), and dozens of House Members.

Stanley Greenberg, who polled for Clinton during the presidential campaign, will continue to do work for the Democratic National Committee (and through it, for the Clinton White House). His firm will also work for some House and <Senate> candidates, though not necessarily his wife, Rep. Rosa DeLauro (D-Conn).

Celinda Lake, who has built up a large clientele of candidates, many of them women, will leave the firm, either to work on her own or join forces with another pollster. She is currently handling polling for Democratic hopeful

Barbara Shipnuck in California's open 17th Congressional district.

The polling shuffle doesn't stop there. Veteran pollster Paul Maslin has joined up with John Fairbank and Richard Maullin to form the tentatively titled Fairbank, Maslin, Maullin & Associates. Last year, Fairbank and Maullin worked for Democratic <Senate> winner Patty Murray in Washington and Democratic House victors Dan Hamburg and Bob Filner in California.

Maslin, whose previous associations include Hickman-Maslin and KRC Research,

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will operate out of San Francisco, while the rest of the firm will remain in Santa Monica. The firm is already polling in two 1993 mayoral races - for Mike Woo in Los Angeles and Dennis Archer in Detroit.

As for those Democrats who produce TV images, changes are also in the offing. Democratic media consultant Chris Sautter has formed his own firm, Sautter Communications, after a four-year stint as director of the Washington office for Axelrod & Associates. He is likely to continue to work jointly with Illinois-based David Axelrod on a number of projects.

Media producer Dino Sedar has left Politics Inc. to work on his own. Politics Inc. president Lesley Israel says the firm is looking to hire a media "heavyweight" to replace him.

And media consultant Jon Macks, who jumped from Doak, Shrum to Struble Totten Communications in May 1991, has jumped again - this time outside politics altogether, to comedian Jay Leno. Macks is now a comedy writer for Tonight Show host Leno in Los Angeles.

Former Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee executive director Les Francis has moved to Winner/Wagner & Francis, a Washington-based grassroots lobbying firm that will handle corporate clients rather than candidates. Francis operated the FMR Group before going over to the DCCC.

And Fenn & King, home of another DCCC veteran, Tom King, has become Fenn, King & Murphy now that Steve Murphy has been named a principal. Murphy, who has worked for the firm for three years, served as House Majority Leader Dick Gephardt's (D-Mo) AA and was involved in Wilson Goode's (D) 1983 Philadelphia mayoral race and in the Dukakis and Gephardt presidential campaigns.

On the <Republican> side, National <Republican> Senatorial Committee Southern regional director <Curt Anderson> has left the committee to do campaign consulting on his own. He will also collaborate on some races with Fabrizio, McLaughlin & Associates, a <GOP> polling/consulting firm.

Anderson, who was also the NRSC's coalitions director, directed Tommy Hartnett's (R) near-upset of Sen. Fritz Hollings (D-SC) last year.

Kieran Mahoney, former special assistant to New York <Republican> Sen. Al D'Amato, has opened up Mahoney & Associates, a new polling and general consulting firm. He has already signed up former Rep. Bob McEwen, who is running for the <GOP> nod in Ohio's open 2nd district. At the same time, Mahoney is opening up the Washington office of AJF & Associates, Arthur Finkelstein's <GOP> polling/consulting firm.

And Edward Goldstein, who served as a staffer on the Bush White House's Domestic Policy Council, has joined Voter/Consumer Research as director of issues research. The Bethesda-based <GOP> polling firm's recent clients have included Sen. Mitch McConnell (R-Ky) and former Rep. Tom Campbell (R-Calif), who ran unsuccessfully for <Senate> last year.

Veteran pollster V. Lance Tarrance, who five years ago sold his firm to the Gallup Organization and has been out of the campaign loop for the past couple of years, is eyeing a potential return to the political wars, possibly in a

strategic role in the 1996 presidential race. For now, however, he will be involved in work for Gallup. He is no longer a member of the board of The Tarrance Group.

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The Hotline

June 4, 1992

SECTION: <SENATE> WATCH

LENGTH: 306 words

HEADLINE: KENTUCKY: NATIONAL <REPUBLICANS> TARGET FORD

BODY:

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National GOPers contend state Sen. David Williams (R) "has a better chance than they first thought to oust" Sen. Wendell Ford (D) in November. NRSC's <Curt Anderson> "We think this is one where we can sneak up on some people." Ford's camp "largely dismisses such talk, as do Democrats in general, but it's not taking the Williams challenge lightly." Ford manager Mike Troop: "Ford always runs like there's no tomorrow. He doesn't let up. ... There may be disgruntled people out there, but what I've always heard is, 'We're not mad at our friend Wendell Ford.'" But the NRSC is giving the race "higher priority and could give Williams the financial base he needs to run a credible campaign." Williams is planning to run an "anti-Washington" campaign. Yet he "welcomes" President Bush's help, "which usually comes in the form of fund-raising. He said other <GOP> notables will come to (KY) to help him raise money." His biggest help could come from the NRSC, which can give him as much as \$321,000. Williams raised about \$40,000 for his "quiet primary race, including \$10,000 from himself, and spent almost all of it defeating Phillip Thompson." Ford, who was unopposed in the primary, raised more than \$1.2M through March and had about \$800,000 cash on hand (Al Cross, Louisville COURIER-JOURNAL, 5/31).]*

LEVEL 2 - 13 OF 43 STORIES

The Nation
Copyright 1992 Information Access Company
The Nation Company Inc. 1992

April 27, 1992

SECTION: Vol. 254 ; No. 16 ; Pg. 541

LENGTH: 3330 words

HEADLINE: The religious right's quiet revival; Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition Cover Story

BYLINE: Conason, Joe

BODY:

While the partisans of Bush and Buchanan battle it out in the primaries, another <Republican> Party faction, the Christian right, has been hovering just above the fray, waiting for its opportunity. Defying the political obituary of their movement written four years ago, America's right-wing evangelists have gathered around Pat Robertson and are quietly but effectively positioning themselves to control the future of conservatism.

Under the aegis of a new, highly solvent and dubiously tax-free national organization called the Christian Coalition, they're relentlessly registering

churchgoers, canvassing "pro-family" voters, preparing campaign literature and organizing hard for conservatives in <Republican> primaries across the country. Striving to mobilize a bloc of 20 million "pro-family" voters next November, the coalition expects to affect every election, from the presidential race down to the statehouses, where the abortion issue looms.

After the eclipse of Swaggart, Bakker and Falwell, and Pat Robertson's own defeat for the <Republican> presidential nomination four years ago, the fundamentalist right seemed to have lost heaven's mandate. But in the summer of 1989, Robertson decided to resurrect the remnants of his campaign by forming the Christian Coalition, a grass-roots, issue-oriented army of the faithful. Since the coalition was founded, it has attracted more than 175,000 dues-paying members, each of whom belongs to one of the county chapters organized in forty-five states. There are now twenty states that have chapters in every country. The combination of money and troops has attracted to the Christian Coalition nearly all the most important figures on the religious right, including Oliver North, New Right godfather Paul Weyrich and the Rev. James Dobson of Focus on the Family.

Unlike the old Moral Majority, which was heavily oriented toward the media, Robertson's new outfit sought no headlines, and its leaders still tend to shun

publicity outside right-wing Christian circles. "Were flying below radar," is the motto of Ralph Reed Jr, the coalition's 30-year-old executive director. (It happens to have been David Duke's motto too.) He boasts that the coalition's targets--such as the dozen Virginia Democrats who lost elections in 1991--don't know what his "guerrilla warriors" are doing until it's too late. He still brags about the 350,000 pieces of literature that coalition volunteers distributed all over North Carolina at the last minute in 1990 to help Senator Jesse Helms defeat Harvey Gantt.

In other words, Robertson and his supporters have set about their latest crusade armed with more than their old fanaticism. They are sophisticated and, above all, pragmatic. Although many Christian Coalition activists--and the vast majority of Robertson's 700 Club viewers--probably prefer Buchanan, Robertson decided as early as last November to back Bush. There were religious considerations involved: Buchanan, whom Robertson calls "a dear friend and a marvelous conservative," is Catholic, and the coalition prefers Dan Quayle, who belongs to a far-right Presbyterian sect and is considered authentically born-again.

Yet it was practical politics, not religion, that dictated a Bush enforcement. And having committed themselves to Bush, Robertson and Reed are applying leverage on the White House like classic power brokers, never relaxing

the pressure for political or ideological concessions. Publicly and privately they warn that without Robertson's blessing his followers, potentially critical in a close election, will stay home on Election Day.

No opportunity to twist Bush's arm has been missed. The coalition suddenly became visible this year when it mounted a grass-roots campaign against John Frohnmayer, the chairman of the National Endowment for the Arts who was ousted in February, after a flood of petitions to the White House that happened to coincide with Buchanan's exploitation of the same issue. But then, just before the crucial Georgia primary, Robertson sent out another mailing, at Bush's request, reiterating his support for the President.

What Bush offers the coalition in return, aside from Frohnmayer's head, is influence in the national campaign, a loud voice in the platform debate and delegate slots for its members. Such rewards are far more important to Robertson than Bush's re-election because the TV evangelist is looking beyond 1992 to a more ambitious goal: control of the <Republican> Party.

Hegemony won't come cheaply. Robertson estimates that the coalition spent \$ 5 million in 1991 and will spend another \$ 10 million this year—all of it tax

free. The Christian Coalition is registered as a "social welfare organization" with the Internal Revenue Service. Under Section 501(c)4 of the I.R.S. code, the coalition isn't supposed to be primarily involved in partisan politics. In fact, the coalition is focused upon a range of highly partisan activities that may violate its tax-exempt status.

At the local level, the coalition's Republicanism is sometimes muted, especially in hostile territory. Recently, the national field director, Guy Rodgers, visited New York City to kick off the organizing of a local chapter whose first meeting attracted more than eighty dedicated activists. He talked a lot about how to canvass a precinct, and very little about George Bush or the <G.O.P.>

"We don't endorse candidates and we don't endorse parties," recited Rodgers in boilerplate language. "We look at issues—and you can find pro-family candidates in both parties." But when he boasted about the Christian Coalition's successes in Virginia last November, he was talking about driving long-term Democratic legislators out of office and replacing them with "pro-family" <Republicans.> "If there had been a pro-family Democrat we might have supported him," he shrugged, "but there wasn't single one."

Such disclaimers are intended to show that the coalition is what it professes to be: strictly "nonpartisan" and "issue-oriented." But they're disingenuous. The organization's goals and methods were discussed far more candidly at a closed meeting of its leaders from around the country last November, which I attended, where plans were drawn up for the 1992 election cycle.

Robertson hosted the "Road to Victory Conference and Strategy Briefing" at his sprawling headquarters in Virginia Beach, which houses the studios of the Christian Broadcasting Network and Chancellor Robertson's fully accredited Regent University. The conference proceedings, which started with tributes by Quayle and a grateful Helms, were held in Robertson's newest building, a lavish faux-eighteenth century motel called the Founders Inn, whose walls are adorned with gigantic oil portraits of George Washington, Thomas Jefferson and . . . Pat Robertson.

Among those who trekked to Virginia Beach were antiabortion leader and Eagle

Forum president Phyllis Schlafly and Gary Bauer, the former Reagan domestic adviser who now runs the Rev. Dobson's Family Research Council. But apart from the big names in attendance, the most impressive aspect of the conference was the high level of political technique that Robertson's staff members imparted to

their cadre.

For the duration of the two-day conference there was virtually no discussion of abortion or any other "pro-family" issue, except how they could be used (or misused) in an election. This was a campaign school, attended by more than 800 activists, and a brazenly partisan one at that. Not a single Democrat appeared on the program, not even as a sop to the I.R.S. Every speaker was a <Republican.>

But of course not all <Republicans> are godly. The coalition is as much engaged in internal <G.O.P.> wrangling as in fighting the Democrats. Talk of enemies didn't always mean journalists, liberals, homosexuals, feminists and the other usual suspects; often the sharpest insults were reserved for a breed considered truly satanic: moderate <Republicans.>

Such invective apparently didn't trouble Representative Guy Vander Jagt of Michigan, who chairs the National <Republican> Congressional Committee. Keynoting the first day's luncheon, he was flanked at the head table by <G.O.P.> House candidates from his home state as well as from North Carolina, Florida and Maine. A triumph for "family values" would, he vowed, mean an end to the "thirty-one years of Democratic rule" on Capitol Hill. "Why not do term

limitations the old-fashioned way? Vote the rascals out and try a <Republican> Congress for a change!"

The details of 1992's holy war were outlined by staff members of the <Republican> campaign committees. Mike Pauley, a top official of Vander Jagt's operation, offered a "nuts and bolts briefing on some of the key targeted races that we need to be focusing on in 1992." Noting <Republican> opportunities in districts where incumbent Democrats are leaving office, Pauley urged that the Christian Coalition get involved in low-turnout primaries in which "a bloc of pro-life and pro-family voters can have twice or three times as much impact as they do in a general election."

Pauley's counterpart at the National <Republican> Senatorial Committee, <Curt Anderson,> was even bolder. He too solicited the coalition's aid against incumbent Democrats, but then went on to attack specific members of his own party. As officials of the national <G.O.P.> apparatus, he and Pauley are both supposedly neutral in primaries, but Anderson exhorted the coalition to support "pro-family" primary contenders, especially in California, where, he said, "people better help out [Bruce] Herschensohn" against moderate Tom Campbell.

Anderson further confided that although officially the N.R.S.C. would have to back Senator Arlen Specter in Pennsylvania, he prefers conservative challenger Steve Freind, author of that state's newly restrictive abortion law. Evidently the coalition took this advice to heart; Guy Rodgers said in New York that he was preparing to mail 500,000 "pro-family" guides to <G.O.P.> voters in Pennsylvania before the April 28 primary there.

The conference's second day was devoted to "turning out the Christian vote in 1992." Aside from an impressive display of technical knowledge, what emerged in lectures by Reed and Rodgers was a cynically realistic attitude toward voters and elections. "In any good voter-turnout election—I'm talking about a

presidential election," explained Rodgers, "only 15 percent of the eligible voters determine the outcome . . . How could that be? Of all adults 18 and over who are eligible, only about 50-65 percent are registered to vote. And of those registered, only 50 percent actually vote . . . Now in low-turnout elections—city council, state legislature, county commission—the percentage of those who determine who wins can be as low as 6 to 7 percent!"

He paused. "Is this sinking in? We don't have to worry about convincing a majority of Americans to agree with us. Most of them are staying home and watching Falcon Crest. They're not involved, they're not voting, so who cares?"

That, he added, is "why the feminists are so terrified of *Roe v. Wade* being overturned. We have the bodies. What we're endeavoring to do in Christian Coalition is get the Christians out of the churches and into the precincts. We build a conduit into the churches where we can funnel information in and funnel people out."

Anticipating a crucial Supreme Court decision on *Roe v. Wade* this spring, the coalition has spent months preparing for pitched battle against the pro-choice forces in Washington and the state capitals. On the weekend of April 5, as feminist banners filled the Washington Mall, every Christian Coalition member in the country received an "actiongram" from Reed, urging an immediate lobbying campaign against the Freedom of Choice Act now pending in Congress. If passed, it would put a major crimp in the Christian Coalition's strategy of restricting abortion rights by winning control of state legislatures. In the meantime, however, coalition activists will be supplying an abortion litmus test to every incumbent or insurgent running this year. Electing "our kind of people," as Rodgers said last November, "is the most effective form of lobbying there is."

After distributing hundreds of costly kits and manuals, Rodgers and Reed took the audience step by step through the process of identifying "pro-family" voters in their counties with a telephone canvass. It's a massive, tedious job, which

is why the troops were being motivated to start phoning immediately. Rodgers claimed that 5,000 such "precinct action kits"—each potentially worth hundreds of names—had already been distributed across the country by last fall. Again, there was a clearly partisan emphasis. "You have to pick and choose," Rodgers urged. "You don't do voter ID in a precinct that votes 97 percent Democrat." Or, as Reed said, "There are no Dukakis Democrats on our lists. We don't want to communicate with them. We don't even want them to know there's an election."

Here's how it works. Once the canvasser chooses a target precinct, the phone script is quite simple. "Do you usually vote for <Republican> or Democratic candidates? In 1988, did you support George Bush or Michael Dukakis?" If the voter answers Democrat and Dukakis, the conversation is politely terminated and a new voter is dialed. "Now as soon as we know who the Democratic nominee for '92 is gonna be," Reed blurted, "we'll be asking that question."

Then, after a query about abortion (for use in post-Roe state elections), the canvasser moves briskly to the voter's all-important "issue burden"—the issue that most bothers that particular voter. This information allows computerized

manipulation of individual voters. With names properly coded, a canned but seemingly personalized paragraph on any of thirty or forty issues—from pornographic art to roads and sewers—may then be laser-printed into an otherwise generic mailing.

When combined with heavily biased "voter guides," the effect of this technology can be stunning. The Christian Coalition used precisely those techniques to elect conservative <Republicans> in seven out of nine State <Senate> races in the Virginia Beach area. Gleefully recounting the results, Reed called those local elections "a test that worked brilliantly." The Christian Coalition's antiabortion candidates had bamboozled an overwhelmingly pro-choice electorate by focusing their direct mail and phone canvasses on such local issues as water shortage, traffic, crime and education.

"Many of our people who were doing this voter ID also happened to be precinct captains for the <Republican> Party," Reed explained with a little smile. In other words, there's an easy way around the laws that prohibit tax-exempt groups from influencing elections—even on the federal level. "What you can do is either have the candidate purchase [the voter ID lists] or, as I said, if you're a precinct captain for both the candidate and the coalition . . . well, hey," he shrugged, "it just so happens you work for two organizations."

As an example, he said, "We're gonna be doing a lot of voter ID in that California <Senate> [primary] race. We can't take a position, but if [our] people ID voters on behalf of the Dannemeyer campaign, that's fine with us." Gay-bashing Representative William Dannemeyer, now running for the <Senate> against moderate <Republican> John Seymour, is a coalition favorite.

Although the Christian Coalition's members are deeply immersed in the current election cycle, Robertson is looking well beyond 1992. At the conference, coalition activists were introduced to the mind-numbing intricacies of becoming a delegate to the <G.O.P.> convention and, eventually, a member of the <Republican> National Committee. "Our key objective for Christian Coalition long term," confided a California operative, "would be to take control of the R.N.C. . . . Impossible task? Absolutely not. But it isn't gonna happen unless every one of you registers as a county central committee member."

Already several Christian Coalition leaders hold seats on the R.N.C., and Morton Blackwell, the veteran conservative who is an R.N.C. member from Virginia, is helping Robertson to recruit more. At the conference's closing banquet Robertson declared his timetable explicitly. "We want to see a working majority of the <Republican> Party in the hands of pro-family Christians," he

said, "by 1996 or sooner."

Robertson's scheme is admittedly not a modest one, and neither is his attempt to unite Protestant fundamentalists, divided among themselves by various religious doctrines, with conservative Catholic and Eastern Orthodox voters, who aren't considered "saved." To achieve it all will require years, not months, of patient, skillful organizing. But in addition to *substantial funding and dazzling technical prowess*, the Christian Coalition prospers from a lack of competition. Nobody else, right or left, is daring to mount a grass-roots effort on this scale.

If they succeed, Robertson and his followers will transform the <Republican> Party into a Christian patriotic front even more authoritarian and bigoted than today's <G.O.P.> While he tried to sound like a reasonable conservative in 1988, Robertson now raves about one-worldist plots by the "money elites" of the Eastern Establishment. His latest book, *The New World Order*, nails fellow Yalie Bush as a Trilateralist, thus reviving the age-old conspiracy doctrines that go back to the Bavarian Illuminati. Even worse, the President is an "unwitting agent" of Lucifer. (Robertson anticipates a "Christian in the White House by the year 2000.")

Still more disturbing than Robertson's bizarre ideas, however, is the nasty mood of his followers. The "Road to Victory" conference ended on the night of

the Louisiana gubernatorial election, and as they drifted out of the closing banquet, coalition leaders gathered in the lobby to watch the returns on CNN. The majority were clearly disappointed by David Duke's defeat. Among them was Billy McCormick, the chairman of the Louisiana Christian Coalition, who'd sat at Robertson's right hand that evening and was introduced as the man who inspired Pat to found the coalition. McCormick, having supported Duke for governor and vouched publicly for the neo-Nazi's devout Christianity, has followed Robertson's lead. He is now the vice chairman of the Bush campaign in Louisiana.

By November the coalition's cadre will be conducting their electoral guerilla tactics on behalf of <Republicans> from Bush down—churning out voter guides, firing off direct mail, cranking up phone banks. Will Robertson get away with abusing a tax-exempt organization to pursue his partisan political agenda? The moderate <Republicans> are scarcely aware of what he's doing, and the Democrats don't even have a clue.

For the record, Ralph Reed claims that his group does not "advocate the election or defeat of candidates in our publications, including voter guides." He also insists that the "Road to Victory" conference was "non-partisan" and

merely taught participants "how to identify pro-family voters (without regard to party affiliation or support for candidates), and how to distribute non-partisan voter guides, which inform voters on where candidates stand on the key issues facing America."

Of course, it's the Internal Revenue Service that is supposed to police this kind of political scam. But the I.R.S. is still investigating Pat's last venture into tax-free politicking, the defunct Freedom Council, which played an important role in 1987 preparing the way for his presidential campaign. Robertson and his cohort don't exactly seem scared. Perhaps they reckon that by the time the I.R.S. or anyone else gets around to auditing the Christian Coalition, they'll already be canvassing precincts for President Quayle.

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February 11, 1991

SECTION: Vol. 3; No. 2; Pg. 22

LENGTH: 923 words

HEADLINE: The Keating fizzle; Congressional investigation into Charles Keating and savings and loan association failures

BYLINE: Fowler, Jack

BODY:

S I write on January 15, the Capitol is withdrawn and uneasy, fearful of terrorism. In the hallways of the Capitol building, the routine banter and

laughter are missing. And security has tightened: the Capitol police are now asking all visitors to remove their coats, which are frisked thoroughly.

But over in the Hart <Senate> Office Building's huge hearing room, it's business as usual: Day 25 of the ethics committee's investigation into the dealings between Charles Keating, chief executive of the now-defunct Lincoln

Savings & Loan, and five senators: Democrats Alan Cranston (Calif.), Dennis DeConcini (Ariz.), John Glenn (Ohio), and Donald Riegle (Mich.), and <Republican> John McCain (Ariz.). Special Counsel Robert Bennett and lawyers for the Keating Five have begun their closing arguments; when they are done, the panel will determine if any of the five men violated <Senate> rules and, if so, will suggest appropriate punishments, ranging from reprimand to expulsion. The committee's verdicts are expected by early March.

The two-month hearings are widely viewed as a bust in terms of both theatrics and substance. Public interest had waned long before the Gulf war took center stage. The plodding hearings uncovered little new information about the five senators' activities.

In the mid 1980s Mr. Keating had engineered \$ 1.3 million in campaign contributions to the five lawmakers. In return he expected the senators to lean on federal bank regulators to back off from their investigation into his shaky institution, which was crippled by poor junk-bond investments and real-estate speculation. The central event came in April 1987, when the senators met twice with Federal Home Loan Bank Board examiners, who charge that the senators pressured them to leave Lincoln alone. Sensing impropriety, Senators McCain and Glenn quickly withdrew (as Mr. Bennett recognized when he recommended last

September that they be dropped from the probe). Senators Cranston, DeConcini, and Riegle, however, continued to press Mr. Keating's case. Eventually the government was forced to seize Lincoln anyway, at a bailout cost to taxpayers of \$ 2 billion.

But all of that was known already. The only significant information to come out of the hearings was evidence contradicting Senator Riegle's denial that he arranged the April 1987 meetings. Mr. Bennett is advising the committee to charge him with perjury.

It may take months for the <Senate> to act on the committee's findings. But no matter what their colleagues decide, all the Keating senators-except Cranston, who is retiring-will be fat political targets when re-election time comes.

The two Keating senators with terms expiring in 1992 are the two most likely to be found not guilty, Glenn and McCain. Their exoneration, however, will not prevent tough reelection battles. Back home, both men carry negative ratings in the mid-50 per cent range, and numerous political foes are considering challenges. One interesting theory floating around town is that Glenn, should he believe his name has been cleared, may retire. However, more tarnish has

recently obscured the former astronaut's once glistening image, as Ohio newspapers have disclosed that he set up a meeting between Mr. Keating and House Speaker Jim Wright in early 1988.

Although neither DeConcini nor Riegle faces re-election until 1994, their future is likewise bleak, particularly if they receive more than a senatorial wrist-slap. DeConcini will "get life but not the death penalty," says one pundit

with close Democratic ties, who says Riegle will receive a lesser but still-harsh punishment. DeConcini, already suffering from negative poll ratings, has been hurt further by petty attempts to release information embarrassing to McCain. As for Riegle, who weathered a sex scandal during a tight 1976 <Senate> race, his negative ratings are not as high, but the perjury allegations and his poor performance at the hearings are bound to drive them up.

If it winds up with only Democrats officially trapped in a financial scandal, one would think that <Republicans> would attempt to make the Keating Three a 1992 campaign issue. Not necessarily. Despite the June 1989 resignations of Speaker Wright and Democratic Whip Tony Coelho over S&L-related activities, <Republicans> failed to mount any significant 1990 campaign effort to tar the Democrats with the corruption brush. "If Jim Wright didn't prompt a <GOP> attack, what will?" asks Charles Cook, editor of one of Washington's most

respected political newsletters. Indeed, Cook believes the Keating scandal, even if only Democrats are found guilty, will affect the institution of Congress more than either party. "Something like this would probably hurt all incumbents."

<Curt Anderson,> coalition director at the National <Republican> Senatorial Committee, says he and others in the <GOP> "are eager for it to become the Keating Three affair," but admits to being "cynical about the party's ability to use such themes effectively." <GOP> campaigners charging fiscal hanky-panky by Democrats would almost certainly meet counterattacks involving the President's son, Neil Bush, and the Silverado S&L mess. And waiting in the ethics committee's batter's box is Alfonse DAMato (R., N.Y.) who reportedly strong-armed HUD officials to steer grants and contracts toward his political allies.

So even if the Gulf war ends in short order and the American people are ready to turn their attention back home, don't look for this to turn out as anything but the Keating Fizzle.

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September 17, 1990

SECTION: Vol. 42; No. 18; Pg. 38

LENGTH: 1783 words

HEADLINE: <Republican> Party: holding its own

BYLINE: Brookhiser, Richard

BODY:

LIKE SOME beach-front property owner struggling with a sea-wall, the <Republican> Party entered this election year hoping to hold its own in Congress, or maybe even improve its position somewhat. <Republican> hopes rested on some basic political arithmetic. It is an old axiom of political lore that the party in the White House gets clobbered in off-year elections. Old, yet

misleading-for the clobberings are unevenly distributed. Most of the great in-party debacles of the modern era-1938, 1946, 1958, 1966, 1974-occurred in the sixth year of an eight-year cycle. After only two years in office, the party that holds the White House tends to lose modestly in Congress or even to gain a

few <Senate> seats. (The recession election of 1982 was an exception, from which the <Republican> contingent in the House has not yet recovered.)

<Republicans> wanted badly to do well this fall, in order to be in a good position for 1992. That election will be the political equivalent of a Wall Street triple witching hour: it will be a presidential year; it will be the first election with the new congressional districts based on the 1990 census; and it is bound to be a year with a record number of open seats, since the grace period allowing congressmen to take their unspent campaign war chests with them into retirement will have expired. The <GOP> would dearly like to enter that election at something better than a nadir.

It was hard to imagine, finally, how the <Republican> position could erode much further, at least as far as the House was concerned. The one good thing about hitting bottom is that there's no way to go but up.

This was the oddsmaker's view of the election. As the campaign season has progressed, the odds have been changed, as they always are, by the influence of issues. It looks, as of August, as if the <Republicans> could still pick up some ground, or at least not lose much. But the hope is uncertain, in part because the <Republicans> have undercut themselves. Ten months ago, the issue

that had <Republicans> spooked like sheep under a helicopter was abortion. Marshall Coleman and Jim Courter, the party's gubernatorial candidates in Virginia and New Jersey, had fudged and fudged their anti-abortion records, and still they went down before the assault by the National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL). After years of saying that abortion belonged in the voting booths, not the courts, <Republicans> discovered that the voters seemed to want to deep-six anti abortion candidates. The party had seen the future and it looked like Lynn Martin and Claudine Schneider, the pro-abortion <Republican> representatives running for the <Senate> in Illinois and Rhode Island, respectively. Lee Atwater hastily pitched the big tent.

The panic began to lift in April, when Pennsylvania's Democratic pro-life governor, Robert Casey, turned back a pro-choice primary challenge. So did each of the pro-lifers in the Pennsylvania legislature that the NARALites had targeted. Equally important, Peg Luksick, a pro-life housewife from Harrisburg, made an underfinanced, last-minute run in the <GOP> primary against Barbara Hafer, the handpicked pro-choice candidate, and managed to get 46 per cent of the vote. The press downplayed the story, but the Beltway took note. The new conventional wisdom acknowledged that Coleman and Courter had lost because of their fudging, not their records. Opposing abortion was not necessarily life-threatening after all. "So long, silver bullet," wrote the Washington Post's Mark Shields.

That doesn't mean that the party's waffling won't hurt it. Socially conservative Democrats like the Casey supporters in Pennsylvania-who usually don't have Democratic Caseys to vote for-may simply sit the election out. If the <GOP> as a whole projects an image that "abortion is not important to it," says Paul Weyrich of the Free Congress Foundation, "the conservative swing voter will think it's not worth it" to bestir himself. Some <Republicans> try to turn the prospect of a generally low turnout around by arguing that pro-life organizations should mobilize. "To the extent an ideologically focused group can



get its people out" for pro-life candidates, says <Curt Anderson of the> <Republican Senate> Committee, "it will have more effect this year than it otherwise would." The <GOP's> Silver Bullet

IF THE <Republican> gun held a silver bullet coming into this campaign, it was taxes. The press had played the victory of California's Proposition 111-a proposal to raise money for highway improvement through a five-cent-per-gallon gas tax-as the end of the tax revolt, but this was premature. Colorado, Illinois, Nebraska, Oregon, and that old hotbed, Massachusetts, all have anti-tax measures on the ballot, some of them quite sweeping-Colorado's would require a direct popular vote on tax increases. And in

New Jersey, Governor James Florio's sweeping tax hikes have been met with ferocious resistance. All Proposition 111 proved was that voters were willing to raise specific levies for specific purposes. Resentment of property taxes and income taxes was still strong. Tapping into it was especially helpful for <Republican> social liberals like Lynn Martin, who needed a way to energize conservative supporters. Then George Bush melted the bullet. <Republican> candidates responded with cries of, "George Who?" (Senatorial candidates cried it a little less vigorously, since they depend on George Who for those \$ 250,000 fundraisers.) But the <Republicans'> rhetorical difficulties have become immense: "The President has matured on the tax issue," Senator Democrat will say, "and in time you will too." <Republican> fundraising has also suffered, though the <Republican> National Committee will deny it vigorously. We've gotten fundraising pieces back with lips drawn on them," a gnome confided to me. Still, <Republicans> hope to get some mileage out of spending: if George Bush had a <Republican> Congress, so the argument runs, we wouldn't have to talk about raising taxes. But, as Jude Wanniski points out, this old <Republican> strategy plays into an equally old Democratic one. "Democrats love to be blasted as spenders, because their constituents want money to be spent on them."

S&L Bombshell

THE POLITICAL world is treating the S&L bailout as if it were the silver fragmentation bomb. Incumbents are expected to be hurt by it whether or not they had ties to the industry. Congressmen with small majorities are especially

endangered: Oregon <Republican> Denny Smith, for example, who beat state legislator Mike Kopetski by only 707 votes, pre-S&L, and who now must face Kopetski again; or the aging Illinois Democrat Frank Annunzio, facing Walter Dudyetz. But if the issue hurts all incumbents, and since more incumbents are Democrats, doesn't it benefit the <GOP?> Think again. Because of gerrymandering, notes Burton Pines of the Heritage Foundation, more House Democrats than House <Republicans> win with majorities in the 65 per cent range. "If there is an across-the-board, damn-the-incumbents mood, it may hurt <Republicans> more, because of the smaller cushion," says Pines. "<Republicans> have to make the issue cronyism: No one came to us, because we didn't run the committees." The <GOP> may yet conclude that it drove Jim Wright and Tony Coelho from office a year early. Hence its efforts to re-Democratize the scandal by shrinking the Keating Five (which includes one <Republican> senator, John McCain) to the more egregious Keating Three (all Democrats-Alan Cranston, Dennis DeConcini, Donald Riegle-none of whom, however, is up this year).

It is hard to point to <Senate> races where taxes have become a cutting issue. But the knives are out on abortion. The big race here is Iowa, where pro-life <Republican> Tom Tauke has drawn the battle lines clearly against the

Democratic incumbent Tom Harkin (see "Lazy Days, Busy Pols," NR, July 23). Ditto in Michigan, where the challenger, Representative Bill Schuette, takes a hard line on abortion, in sharp contrast to the incumbent, Democrat Carl Levin. The Nebraska Coalition for Life, which had previously supported Democratic incumbent James Exon, has switched to former Representative Hal Daub, in part because of Exon's vote against Judge Bork. In Kentucky, the Democratic challenger, Harvey Sloane, who converted to pro-abortion early this year, is having his commercials prepared by the same folks who flacked for the Virginia victor, Douglas Wilder, last year. But this time the <Republican,> incumbent Mitch McConnell, is ready for the attack, if it comes. The <Republican> Party made a concerted effort to recruit the strongest possible <Senate> candidates. Several representatives with safe-ish seats chose to try to step up. This affects the <GOP's> House prospects, since four of them—Lynn Martin, Claudine Schneider, Tom Tauke, and Patricia Saiki, the only <Republican> ever elected to the House from Hawaii—represent districts carried by Michael Dukakis and, thus, possible Democratic pickups. Several House contests are replays of races that resulted in narrow Democratic victories in 1988—Philip Sharp (D.) v. Mike Pence (R.) in Indiana; Bill Hefner (D.) u. Ted Blanton (R.) and James Clarke (D.) v. Charles Taylor (R.) in North Carolina. Two freshmen, Jolene Unsoeld (D., Wash.) and Craig James (R., Fla.), won last time by less than a thousand votes, while Tommy Robinson carried his Arkansas district with a solid 83 per cent—though he has

switched parties (Democratic to <Republican>) in the meantime. There will be a lot more such switches, I am told, if <Republicans> do well in the next few years. This is only about the eightieth time I've heard the story about the Switching Democrats, but I pass it along, as I would the latest Bigfoot sighting.

The fact is, no one is going to be switching to anything if the <Republicans> can't gain the initiative now. Bush could still retrieve the tax issue, Pines suggested, by announcing, "I put this on the table, and the Democrats haven't, done anything." Wanniski thinks Saddam Hussein might make a handy peg: the possibility of an oil shock means that "now everything has changed. Bush could ask Congress to dust off the capital-gains tax in the fall, that George Mitchell and Bill Bradley blocked. Either Mitchell would permit it, or not. If he did" the tax-cutters would win the vote. If he didn't, we'd have a true Reaganaut argument." It is even conceivable that the Gulf crisis itself could boost <Republican> prospects, though foreign policy is traditionally remote from congressional politicking.

In fact, Bush's future relations with Congress look much like his future relations with Iraq—a tense stalemate against a dug-in, powerful foe. Try to build a wall against that.

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THE INSIDE-OUTSIDE BATTLE ABOUT SEATING JUDGE BORK

BYLINE: By Ronald Brownstein, Ronald Brownstein is a writer for the National Journal.

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

BODY:

As prospects for the Supreme Court confirmation of Judge Robert H. Bork collapse around them, the Administration and its conservative allies are already positioning themselves for a fractious "Who lost Bork?" debate if the nominee fails.

White House aides have begun complaining — first privately and now in print — that the conservative lobby groups are not pushing hard enough for Bork. "I think," said one senior White House aide, "some of the opponent groups are more committed to trying to sway public opinion than the proponents."

Meanwhile, conservatives are complaining that White House Chief of Staff Howard H. Baker Jr. waited too long to launch Administration efforts for Bork, allowing liberal opponents to take an early initiative they never relinquished. While President Reagan vacationed in August, Bork's opponents were ready and "they really hit hard," admitted the White House aide. "It took us some time to get ourselves in a position where we were ready to respond."

These complaints whizzing back and forth testify to the White House difficulty in coordinating two distinct elements of its campaign — the inside game of wooing senators, and the outside game of moving public opinion and activating their conservative base. The problem is both simple and intractable: Though the White House wants conservative social and religious groups to rally behind Bork, it fears their embrace will repel moderate senators who hold the key swing votes.

Liberal groups worked fiercely to generate public resistance to the nomination — while trying to avoid becoming a target. They have succeeded on the first count, helping move public opinion against Bork. But their visibility has allowed <Senate Republicans> to score points in the inside game by attacking "special interests" opposing Bork.

So on the eve of this week's expected <Senate> Judiciary Committee vote, the White House and Bork's <Senate> opponents find themselves with a similar problem: both need their supporters' zeal, and both fear it. They are in this conundrum because the Bork battle has no precedent. No one knows the rules for a Supreme Court nomination battle fought as if it were a national plebiscite because no one has ever run such a campaign before. Even the institutional lobbying surrounding President Richard M. Nixon's nominations of Clement F. Haynsworth Jr. and G. Harrold Carswell — the last two Supreme Court nominees defeated — seems quaint next to the feral struggle over Bork. Nor have Reagan's other Supreme Court nominees fired such passions; only elevating William H. Rehnquist to chief justice drew sustained opposition, mostly on the inside.

"I think this is unprecedented, to use the media to help shape public opinion (on a Supreme Court nomination)," said Arthur J. Kropp, executive director of People for the American Way, a liberal lobbying group that last week completed a \$725,000 media campaign against Bork.

Almost from the day Bork was nominated, the White House has been unable to find a message that both advances its cause inside the <Senate> and excites its natural allies. When Bork was named, conservative leaders erupted with millennial joy; Christian Voice, an evangelical organization, proclaimed that

Bork's confirmation "may be our last chance . . . to ensure future decades will bring morality, godliness and justice back into focus."

But the congressional veterans gathered in the White House around Baker, a former <Senate> majority leader, initially saw that enthusiasm as a problem, not an asset. To their view, the right's portrayal of Bork as the answer to its prayers only buttressed the left's portrayal of him as a conservative ideologue. Almost immediately, Baker's insiders decided that an ideologically polarized battle wouldn't get Bork through a Democratic <Senate> and they began to position him as a moderate. Surprisingly, conservatives tailored their public statements accordingly.

But that was not an easy message to sell their supporters. Though conservative groups have produced piles of mail supporting Bork – winning the battle of the post card in many states – they were unable to raise the money for media campaigns comparable to those funded by his opponents. Bork supporters expected that role to be filled by a group called We the People, formed by California <GOP> consultant Bill Roberts. Roberts figured to raise \$2.5 million from Reagan loyalists for an advertising campaign in key swing states. But the big money never arrived and, so far, the group has only purchased print advertisements in Oregon and Massachusetts.

In part, the fund-raising problems of Bork's supporters reflect the decline of the conservative financial base in the waning months of the Reagan era. But conservative activists argue persuasively that the White House strategy of selling Bork as a moderate accentuated their problems. "They are just taking it too far, to the point where anybody can ask, 'Why are we getting excited about him?' " says <Curt Anderson,> president of Coalitions for America, an umbrella conservative group.

Opponents, on the other hand, have had no trouble exciting people. The White House tactics left all the emotional arguments for the left. Even before Bork was nominated, liberal groups thoroughly researched his record and culled his most controversial views; as soon as Reagan tapped him they were ready with attacks ranging in tone from incendiary to apocalyptic. Because the White House strategy demanded that conservatives skirt such emotional issues as abortion, they were left to respond with civics-book arguments about Bork's qualifications.

This disparity in tone – widened by the disparity in money – has enabled the opponents to control the public debate. But that victory may yet create problems on the inside, for many senators seem uncomfortable with vehement lobbying over a judicial nomination. Repeated assertions by Sen. Orrin G. Hatch (R-Utah) and Sen. Alan K. Simpson (R-Wyo.) – that opposition to Bork reflects the power of special interest groups – clearly frightens some wavering senators. Several Judiciary Committee members have delivered self-conscious speeches insisting they won't be swayed by lobbying or the polls – they sound a little like Claude Rains discovering gambling at Rick's in "Casablanca." But in private, the senators are often just as concerned that a vote against Bork will be seen as weakness, not independence. "There seems to be almost an overreaction to what happened to Walter Mondale in being perceived as a captive of the special interests, and the feminists, and the gays, and the abortionists," said Kropp.

Ironically, the White House has offered opponents the way out of that box. By repositioning Bork as a moderate, they gave senators a safe reason to vote against him: his unpredictability. Sanding the edges off of Bork was a textbook insider's move. It reflected Baker's instincts – his preference for discreet inside lobbying over noisy outside pressure – as much as his vote count. Moderation may have been Bork's only chance for confirmation in this <Senate.> But so far these tactics seem to have lost votes.

The Administration may still be hoping Reagan can win over enough senators, one by one, to push Bork through. But after former Sen. Slade Gorton (R-Wash.) was defeated last fall because he traded his vote on a judicial nomination, senators will be wary of cutting deals on Bork. With the vote running against him, these next few weeks will test Baker's reputation as the master of the inside game. If his maneuvers fail to put Bork on the high court, get ready for the firestorm from the conservative outsiders who have never quite found a place in the White House strategy.

GRAPHIC: Drawing, CATHERINE KANNER / for The Times

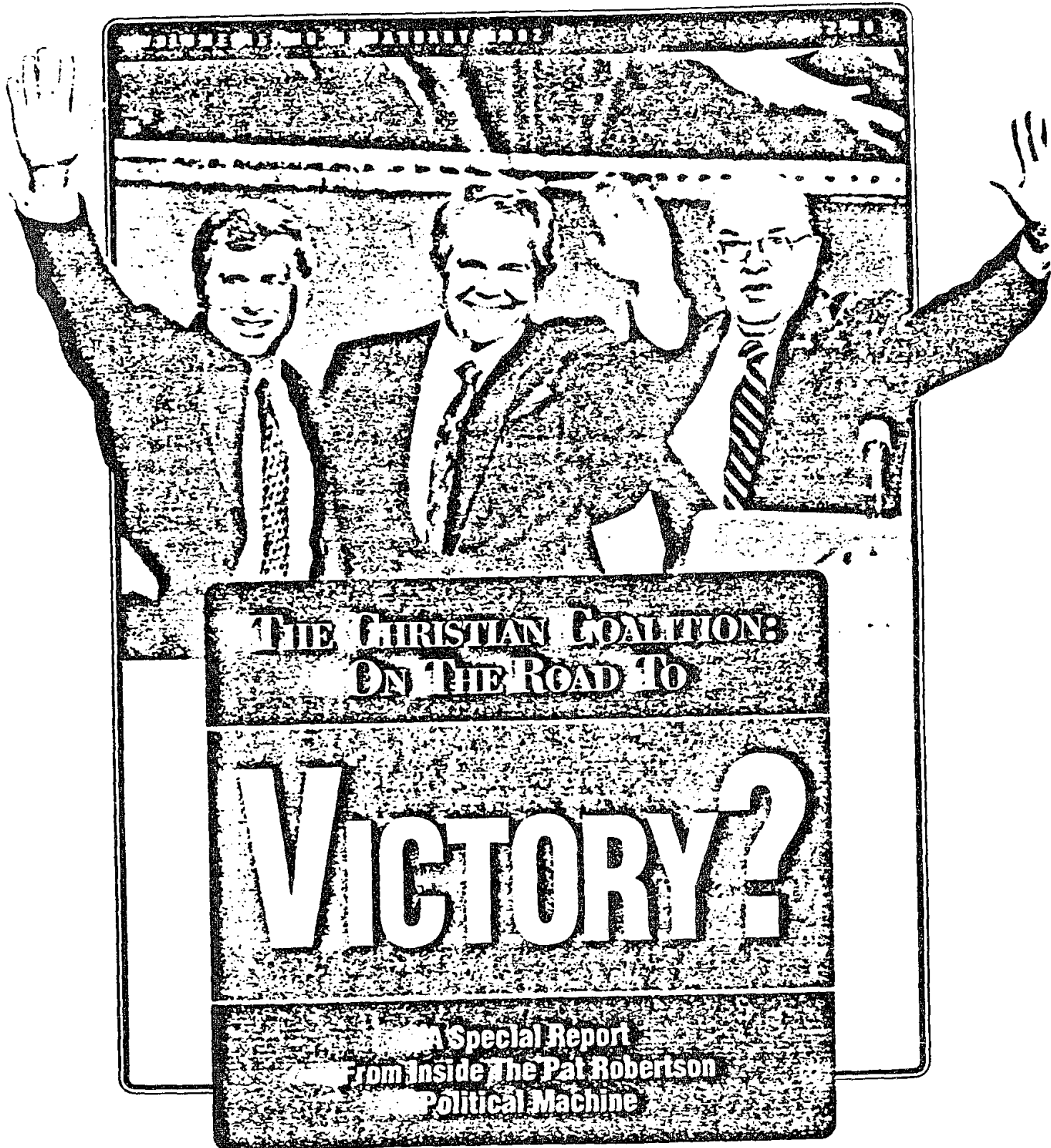
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CHURCH & STATE



The Christian Coalition: On The Road To VICTORY?

When I slipped into the national leadership meeting of Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition, I thought I knew what to expect. I'd written many stories about the Religious Right. But I was unprepared for what I saw, heard and felt inside Robertson's Virginia Beach, Va., headquarters for two days in November during the "Road to Victory" Conference and Strategy Briefing.

The historic Louisiana governor's race was reaching its climax. Men and women crowded around televisions, awaiting the electoral fate of neo-Nazi Republican David Duke. Although Pat Robertson denounced racism and Nazism to reporters outside the conference, inside there were open expressions of support for Duke, from the ordinary membership to the leadership. (I saw only five blacks out of 800 delegates.) For many there was grim disappointment at Duke's defeat.

I was also surprised to see a rapidly growing, technologically sophisticated religio-political organization, built largely from Robertson's 1988 presidential campaign. Christian Coalition activists are working to take over the Republican Party from the grassroots up, while electing right-to-life conservative Christian Republicans to public office at all levels. They view George Bush and "establishment" Republicans as their principal opponents and believe themselves divinely appointed to take power and rule the United States.

I also heard Coalition leaders gleefully describe—from the podium—political activities that are clearly unethical, if not illegal.

Founded in October 1989, the Coalition now claims 150,000 members and 210 local chapters in 38 states. Many "members" are just direct mail contributors. Nevertheless, it is quickly becoming the major Religious Right political orga-

A Special Report From Inside The Pat Robertson Political Machine



nization of the 1990s.

Signaling the importance of the Robertson Republicans, the keynote address was given by Vice President Dan Quayle. Quayle had brushed aside requests that he cancel the speech because Robertson's Founders Inn discriminates in hiring on the basis of religion—only born-again Christians are allowed to work at the hotel. Ignoring the controversy, the vice president spoke at an Inn banquet hall, a stone's throw from Robertson's Christian Broadcasting Network (CBN) headquarters and a stroll to Regent University, of which the religious broadcaster is chancellor.

Quayle said we were gathered that day because he, the president and the Coalition have shared values of "faith, family, and freedom" and that together we would defeat "the liberals" and re-elect Bush. He said the first step is to "make 1992 the year of pro-family values." Other party leaders speaking or present included Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.), Rep. Guy Vander Jagt (R-Mich.), Rep. Robert K. Doman (R-Calif.) and Rep. William Dannemeyer (R-Calif.), as well as Christian Right leaders Phyllis Schlafly, Gary Bauer and Christian Reconstructionist author George Grant.

Much of the Virginia Beach conference consisted of "how to" presentations on the mechanics of electoral and internal Republican Party politics. One session was divided into regional briefings on how to become delegates to the Republi-

can National Convention. There was a single caucus for how to become a delegate to the Democratic Convention, but no one came.

At this gathering, I quickly learned, a denunciation of "the liberals" usually referred to George Bush, California Gov. Pete Wilson and the Republican National Committee. "The far left" meant the Democratic Party.

One panel titled "Turning Out the Christian Vote in 1992" presented two field-tested election tactics: voter identification ("voter ID") programs and "voters' guides."

"We don't have to worry about convincing a majority of Americans to agree with us," declared Guy Rodgers, the Coalition's national field director. "Most of them are staying home and watching 'Falcon Crest.'"

Even in a high turn-out presidential election year, Rodgers explained, only 15 percent of the eligible voters determine the outcome. Of all eligible adults, only about 60 percent are actually registered. Only half of those cast ballots. "So," he continued, "only 30 percent of the eligible voters actually vote. Therefore, only 15 percent of the eligible voters determine the outcome."

"In low turn-out elections," he concluded, "city council, state legislature, county commissions—the percentage of the eligible voters who determines who wins can be as low as 6 or 7 percent."

The Coalition's imaginative executive director, Ralph Reed, describes the group's voter mobilization programs as if it were a covert military operation: "I want to be invisible," he told one reporter. "I do guerilla warfare. I paint my face and travel

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at night. You don't know it's over until you're in a body bag. You don't know until election night."

By this standard, election night in November was a body bag bonanza for the Robertson Right as they took seven seats for State Senate and House of Delegates from the Virginia Beach area. One recent Regent University graduate defeated a 20-year incumbent Democrat.

Describing the group's voter ID program, Reed explained that volunteers would telephone into pre-selected precincts and say "I'm taking an informal survey" for the Christian Coalition. Then, four quick questions: Did you vote for Dukakis or Bush? Are you a Republican or a Democrat?

"If they answered, 'Dukakis, Democrat' that was the end of the survey," laughed Reed. "We didn't even write them down. We don't want to communicate with them. We don't even want them to know there's an election going on. I'm serious. We don't want them to know."

The third question, if respondents got that far, was do you favor restrictions on abortion? And finally, what is the most important issue facing Virginia Beach?

The Coalition used the data to create a computer file on each voter, with survey answers coded according to 43 "issue burdens." The ID'd voters would then mysteriously receive a letter from the Coalition's candidate: Computer-generated, laser-printed and individually tailored to one's "issue burden"—crime, education, traffic, etc. If the voter happened to be pro-choice, the letter wouldn't mention abortion. "I'll take the votes of the pro-abortion Republicans" to get anti-abortion Republicans in, Reed admitted. In fact, Reed said only 28 percent of his targeted voters identified themselves as anti-abortion.

This signals a significant shift from the grandiose Christian Right notion of a "moral majority." The Robertson forces are a self-conscious minority seeking power through smart utilization of political campaign technology and the institutions of democracy.

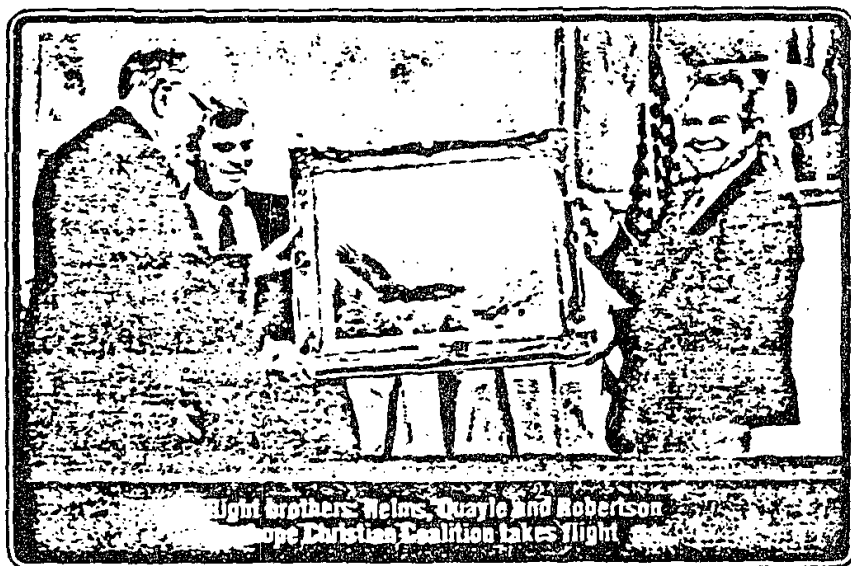
Reed said one Democrat attempted to make an issue of Pat Robertson's contributions to political candidates. "But

people didn't care if Pat Robertson had given money to anyone," Reed gloated. "They wanted better roads, etc.... We knew it. He didn't. We won. He lost. It's that simple."

Amidst the braggadocio about clever tactics, a "Christian" variety of dirty politics sometimes showed. On the morning of the Virginia Beach election, Reed personally went to the largest precinct and told voters he was with an "independent, outside organization" unconnected to either campaign, doing exit polling for "later broadcast." The Republican was losing, so Coalition activists called every-

which are usually biased comparisons of candidate views or records. The Christian Coalition of Florida distributed 1.5 million of them in 1990, primarily by shipping them in batches of about 300 to 4,000 churches selected from a purchased list of 11,000. (Coalition activists also obtained church membership lists and cross-referenced them against lists of registered Republicans as part of a voter ID project in central Florida.)

During the Virginia Beach gathering, Ralph Reed told an inside story from the 1990 U.S. Senate race in North Carolina. Helms called Pat Robertson a week before



one on their precinct list and got their candidate down to the polling place to greet voters. Ultimately, he won.

Reed tried to explain how the Coalition could do such partisan work. He explained: "We also control the Second District Republican Party. So many of our people who were doing this voter ID were also (Republican) precinct captains.... So if they shared some of this voter ID information...we really didn't care." Personalizing this political incestuousness is Pat Robertson's son Gordon, who is secretary treasurer of the Coalition and also Republican chairman in Virginia's Second Congressional District.

The other wing of the Coalition's strategy for 1992 is the use of "voter guides"—

the election to ask for help. Reed reported, "I had access to the internal tracking, and I know [Helms] was down by 8 points. So Pat called me up and said, 'We've got to kick into action.' Bottom line is...five days later we put three quarters of a million voters' guides in churches across the state of North Carolina and Jesse Helms was re-elected by 100,000 votes out of 2.2 million cast." "We" said Reed, also made over 30,000 phone calls.

Unlike Florida, the North Carolina Coalition activists tried to insert voter guides into church bulletins on the Sunday before the election. Where that failed, they leafleted at carefully chosen spots just outside church parking lots. "The press had no idea what we were doing,"

added CC's Southern Regional Director Judy Haynes, "and they still don't know what we did. But it worked."

The Coalition is expecting a similar impact in North Carolina in 1992. Haynes organized a meeting last October, and according to Reed, "All five Senate candidates, announced and unannounced, came to meet with our key county coordinators." All were Republicans, of course; Sen. Terry Sanford, the Democratic incumbent, is the target.

The Christian Coalition claims it is an "issues-oriented" organization of "Evangelicals, pro-family Catholics and their allies" working to "reverse the moral decline in America and reaffirm our godly heritage." But at the November meeting there was little talk about issues. This conference was devoted to electoral politics, the mechanics of taking over the Republican Party and Coalition chapter development.

Former Reagan White House Domestic Policy chief (and now head of James Dobson's Family Research Council) Gary Bauer said, "Obviously this conference is about the 1992 elections." And the reason this and other elections are important, he added, is because "we are engaged in a social, political and cultural civil war."

Three members of the Republican National Committee explained the hows and whys of becoming an RNC member. One Coalition leader told me that he expects a conservative Christian majority on the RNC in the next few years.

Several speakers stressed that it is time to stop thinking like outsiders and begin to be insiders interested in power and governance. This dynamic was played out in an interesting way when sympathetic staff from the Republican House and Senate campaign committees addressed the gathering.

The party is supposed to be neutral in party primaries—especially when there is a Republican incumbent. However, Curt Anderson of the National Republican Senatorial Committee warned against "pro-family" candidates splitting the vote in GOP primaries where moderate Republicans are also running. In California, where Democrat Alan Cranston is retiring, a Republican primary fight is under

way. Said Anderson, "It is really important that we understand who's pro-life and who's pro-family and who's conservative in that primary" between TV commentator Bruce Herschenson and U.S. Rep. Tom Campbell. "Anybody who has the resources...better pay attention to that primary," Anderson insisted, "and help out Mr. Herschenson."

Observed Ralph Reed, "I wanna tell ya, I deal with Curt Anderson on a daily basis, and...he shares your values and he shares your outlook....He's really our best friend at the Senatorial Committee."

Said Anderson, "I have never considered myself a party-first guy"—an attitude which he believes has "no integrity."

Meanwhile, the complicity between the Republican Party, individual candidates and the Christian Coalition may be creating violations of the Coalition's tax status. As a 501(c)(4) organization under the Internal Revenue Service Code, the Coalition is non-profit and tax-exempt, although donations to it are not deductible by contributors. It can do things like lobby on legislation, produce voter guides and wage other political activities.

IRS regulations about candidate endorsements are somewhat ambiguous, but they clearly forbid a 501(c)(4) organization to have partisan politics as its primary undertaking. One IRS official told *Church & State* that partisan politicking may not exceed 49 percent of the group's endeavors. If my experience at the Virginia Beach meeting is any indication, partisan political activities clearly constitute almost all of the Christian Coalition's work.

Playing fast and loose with the IRS rules got a similar Robertson group in trouble a few years ago. According to 1987 reports by *The Washington Post* and syndicated columnist Michael McManus, Robertson poured some \$8.5 million from his Christian Broadcasting Network into a group called The Freedom Council during the 1980s. The Council ostensibly sought to mobilize "Christians" into politics. However, several former Council executives now admit that it fronted for Robertson's electoral ambitions.

The Post reported that among many actions of dubious legality, Robertson "used the tax-exempt Freedom Council—

funded by millions of dollars from CBN—to help elect his supporters in Michigan's GOP convention delegate selection process." As McManus wrote in 1987, "It is illegal for a non-profit organization like CBN to give money for the direct or indirect benefit of a person running for political office."

When the IRS began investigating The Freedom Council, Robertson shut it down. Five years later, the IRS is still investigating.

Many veterans of The Freedom Council and the Robertson campaign are active in The Christian Coalition. Among these is the Rev. Billy McCormack, one of Robertson's closest political associates and the Coalition's state director in Louisiana. One of the first people Robertson recruited for the Council, McCormack served as a regional coordinator. He played a similar role in the Robertson presidential bid.

McCormack introduced Robertson at the Christian Coalition's closing banquet in November. He said that in the two centuries since Washington and Jefferson, "The forces of evil have coalesced. They've formed a mighty tide of approaching destruction. Providentially, God has raised up (another) man from Virginia to lead America in the re-discovery of its soul."

McCormack also epitomizes the Coalition's hidden Duke dimension. A Duke for Governor campaign spokesman claimed their candidate had the support of the Coalition's Louisiana affiliate. State leader McCormack declined to comment at the time, but informed sources have told me he was prevented from making a formal endorsement only by last-minute arm-twisting by other Robertson allies.

Thus, it is important to note that, according to a *New York Times* poll, Duke received seven out of ten votes cast by white evangelicals in the Louisiana governor's race. Now that Duke is running in the Republican presidential primaries, newly uncloseted Duke supporters may emerge from the Coalition.

Robertson himself, usually smilingly avuncular, displayed a terrifying, paranoid and messianic vision of current and future events during a banquet speech that

was greeted with cheers and standing ovations from the assorted Christian Coalition activists. Attacking "humanism" as communism's "sister," he claimed that America is under assault from its own leaders.

"When the failed monstrosity of Russia...went down, so did the so-called elites of the United States," he declared. "They just don't know it yet."

A financial collapse in the Soviet Union that will affect the rest of the world is imminent, Robertson said, "And while this is going on, we are hearing noises about a New World Order." He claimed that the "United Nations is going to rule the world...We're to cede the sovereignty of America to this organization. One world currency. One world army. One world court system, very possibly. And it can happen overnight.

"The elites," Robertson said, "have turned against themselves and have tried to destroy the very society from which

they drew their nurture. The academic elites, the money elites and the government elites, turned on their own society. And into that void steps an organization called the Christian Coalition."

Robertson envisions the Coalition arrayed against "Satanic forces," saying, "We are not coming up against just human beings to beat them in elections. We're going to be coming up against spiritual warfare. And if we're not aware of what we're fighting, we will lose."

Robertson credited McCormack with calling on him to form the Coalition from the Robertson forces' preceding ventures, lest the time and money they had invested, "be for naught." Remarkd Robertson, "He said there are people by the hundreds of thousands around the country who are waiting to rally to leadership. And I said, 'Well, Billy, I'll pray about it.' And as I did, it was clear that what he said was right."

What does all this mean? The Christian

Coalition provides a militantly sectarian—only Christians of the "right" sort are welcome—political vehicle for Robertson and his allies. It also provides a convenient, if unstable, umbrella group for a strange range of opinion. It is home not only to strains of back-to-the-Bible social conservatism but also free enterprise (even libertarian) economics and a kind of nativist fascism.

The Coalition is held together by agreement on a few issues, charismatic leaders like Robertson and Reed, an inclusive grassroots strategy and periodic denunciations of "The Evil One," who, of course, is represented by the group's enemies, from "Teddy Kennedy" to George Bush.

Despite the Coalition's strengths, it is a volatile mix that is certain to make 1992 much more interesting, and disturbing, than the conventional wisdom is ready to believe.

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Televised action meetings bring conservative groups together

By George Archibald
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

5-23-91

National pro-family and religious organizations have inaugurated monthly televised meetings in Washington linked up with conservative activist groups across the country.

Coalitions for America's leader, Paul Weyrich, was host to representatives of about 40 national groups at his new Capitol Hill television studio Tuesday evening for a cable TV hookup by satellite with state and local political conservatives in 20 communities from coast to coast.

"They're action meetings," Mr. Weyrich said. The monthly teleconferences featuring members of Congress and other Right-oriented leaders are intended to orchestrate pressure on Congress and the administration on social and cultural issues, he said.

On Tuesday, the groups heard from:

- Sen. Larry Craig, Idaho Republican, on his alternative proposal to mandatory parental-leave legislation being pushed by congressional Democrats.

- Rep. John Duncan, Tennessee Republican, on his bill to exclude immigrants who test positive for AIDS.

- Rep. William Dannemeyer, California Republican, on his effort to

extend a ban on federally supported research that involves harvesting of fetal tissue and organs for human transplants.

Mr. Dannemeyer said the fetal tissue ban is opposed by Rep. Henry Waxman, California Democrat and chairman of the Energy and Commerce subcommittee on health, whom he called "a very worthy adversary."

Two conservative Texas lawmakers on the subcommittee — Democrat Ralph Hall and Republican Jack Fields — are wavering on the fetal experimentation issue, Mr. Dannemeyer said, adding, "My guess is it will be fought on the floor."

Mr. Weyrich called on activists to flood Congress with telephone calls and letters on behalf of Mr. Dannemeyer's amendment to the National Institutes for Health funding authorization bill. He said the White House supports the ban on fetal tissue experimentation.

Last year, House Republican Whip Newt Gingrich of Georgia started an "American Opportunities Workshop" political telecast with funding from his political action committee. But the effort was discontinued after a few programs.

The hourlong teleconference by Coalitions for America uses a format similar to CNN's "Larry King Live,"

with viewers telephoning in questions.

National conservative group representatives in the Washington studio audience also question invited guests, participate in the discussion and accept assignments for political action.

Groups participating include the Family Research Council, a division of the 2 million-member Focus on the Family broadcast ministry; Eagle Forum; Concerned Women for America; the National Right to Life Committee; the National Association of Evangelicals; the Southern Baptist Convention's Christian Life Commission; and the Christian Legal Defense Foundation.

"We're providing a model for them [grass-roots conservative groups] so that they will learn how to do coalitions," said Michael Schwartz, co-host with Mr. Weyrich of the telecasts, called "Library Court Live" after the street where Mr. Weyrich's group was founded.

"We give them information and direction on national issues," Mr. Schwartz said. "Some of the groups, such as right-to-life, have distinct agendas, but by meeting in the same room they learn how to cooperate with one another to increase their strength."



Free Congress Foundation

NET

THE CHALLENGE OF THE MILLENNIUM

The dawn of satellite politics...national Empowerment Television (NET) actually accomplishes something deeper that is altogether healthy; it is reconnecting citizens to each other and to their leaders.

David Gergen

Senior Editor
U.S. News & World Report



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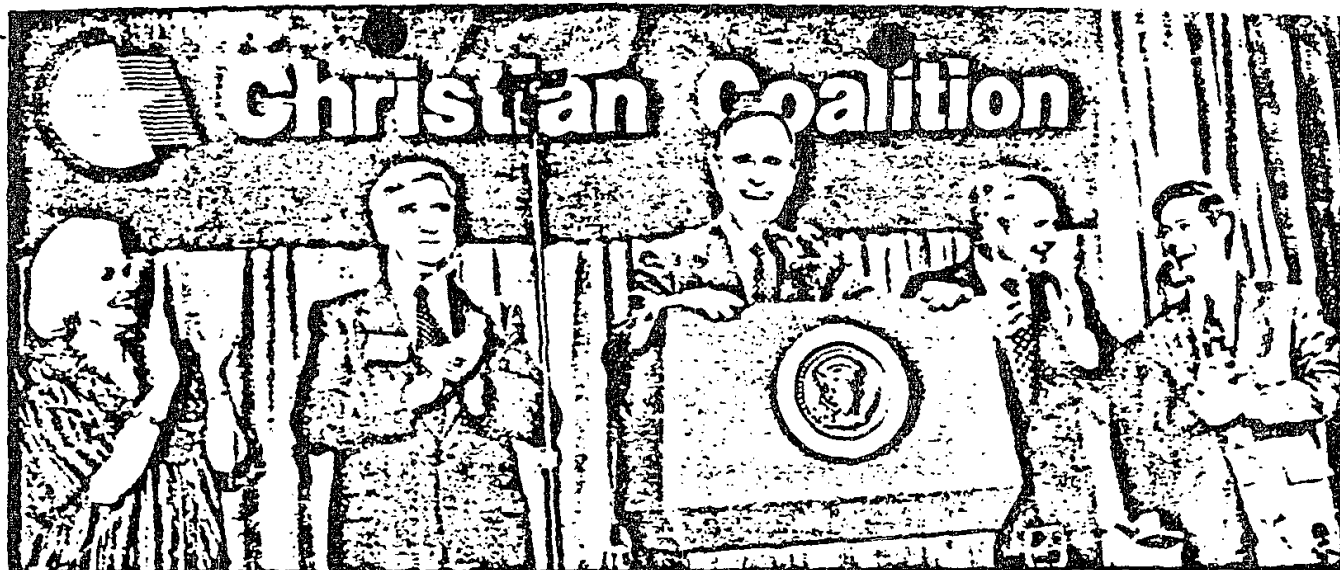
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The Covert Tactics and Overt Agenda of the New Christian Right

Kate Cornell

When Pat Buchanan, echoed by a Christian Right chorus, declared "religious war" at the Republican National Convention, there were those who shrugged off the announcement as the last irrelevant gasp of a moribund movement. The scoffers failed to recognize the battle cry of a serious political organization which has been quietly and systematically organizing from the grassroots up. The Christian Right, led by televangelist Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition, now stands at the threshold of major political power in the United States.

In large part, the media and political pros dismissed Robertson's declaration because they could dismiss the power of the messenger himself, and in that assessment they were partially correct. Where they erred, however, was in focusing on the cult of lone demagogues and television preachers—to the exclusion of political operations. Thus, the experts were looking in the wrong direction and missed the main story: real political power.

In the 1980s, the politics of Jerry Falwell and his big-ego televangelist colleagues such as Jim Bakker and Jimmy Swaggart rested largely on media exposure, and comparatively little on organization. National political operatives,

who calculate policy based on clout, understood that flaw in the top-heavy architecture of the Christian Right and were able to ignore much of its agenda during the Reagan-Bush years. Reagan and Bush, for example, paid lip service to a constitutional amendment for school prayer, but never pushed it. Supreme Court appointments notwithstanding, abortion is still a constitutional right, albeit circumscribed.

The Christian Right feels cheated by the Republican presidents it helped elect and swears it won't be fooled again.

From Houston to Washington

For the last few years, Christian Right leaders have been plotting a new strategy. They have discarded the risky strategy that a president they supported will stack the political deck in their favor. Instead, they have built grassroots political organizations drawn from conser-

The Christian Right now stands at the threshold of major political power.

ervative evangelical churches. From this base, they are creating and mobilizing a disciplined voting bloc and hand-picking candidates for local and ultimately higher offices. A major stepping stone to national control—the takeover of the Republican Party by 1996—is now within sight. Using a town-by-town, county-by-county strategy, the Christian Right controls about a dozen Republican State Committees, including in Texas, Louisiana, Virginia, Hawaii, Washington, Kan-

Kate Cornell writes fiction, when not investigating the Religious Right. Photo: David Valdez, White House. Dede Robertson, Billy McCormack (top operative of David Duke), President George Bush, Pat Robertson, Ralph Reed.

sas, Iowa,¹ Florida, Alaska and Arizona. It is closely contesting control of the California GOP,² making gains in Colorado, the Carolinas, and Minnesota.

The role of the Christian Right in the 1992 elections was unprecedented in its importance, although the results seemed mixed in the final tallies. The Coalition claims credit, probably rightly, for helping to reelect Senator Alfonse D'Amato (R-N.Y.), and for electing Senator Lauch Faircloth (R-N.C.). It failed, however, to unseat Senator Daniel Inouye (D-Hawaii). The Christian Right's momentum was stalled in San Diego, California, where two-thirds of its 90 local candidates lost, with half of the 12 candidates for state assembly, including the great Right hope, Steve Baldwin, going down to defeat. The Christian Right-backed Senate candidate Bruce Herschensohn also lost a close race to Barbara Boxer, a San Francisco liberal.

On state ballot initiatives, results were also mixed. The Coalition lost an anti-gay initiative in Oregon and was defeated two to one on a Draconian anti-abortion initiative in Arizona. The group did, however, successfully back the defeat of a "death with dignity" initiative in California and an equal rights amendment in Iowa. At this writing, it is unclear how well the Christian Right did in the state and local races that were their main focus. It is highly likely, however, that there were many Christian Right activists elected to school boards all over the country. This target is especially important because the takeover of school boards and other local institutions, as well as the domination of local Republican Party structures, will be their focus for the next few years.

Bush's defeat is seen by the Christian Right as an opportunity to step in and restructure the decapitated Republican Party in its own image and to prepare for the 1994 and 1996 elections.

Exploiting Apathy: The 15 Percent Majority

"We don't have to worry about convincing a majority of Americans to agree with us," said Guy Rogers, National Field Director for the Christian Coalition. "Most of them are staying home and watching Falcon Crest." In November 1991,

1. Frederick Clarkson, "Inside the Covert Coalition," *Church & State*, November 1992.

2. Carlos V. Lozano and Ralph Frammolino, "Christian Right Digs in At grassroots Level," *Los Angeles Times*, October 18, 1992.

Rogers explained how to exploit low voter participation. Only about 60 percent of those eligible are actually registered, and even in a presidential year "only 30 percent of the eligible voters actually vote. Therefore 15 percent of the eligible voters determine the outcome."³

Farther down the electoral ladder, from federal to state to local races, the percentage of voter participation decreases to a point where six or seven percent of eligible voters can determine the outcome.

The mathematics of power is especially favorable in local party primaries, a critical target of the Christian Right's new game plan. If it can mobilize an extra few percent of voters in these traditionally low turnout races, it can win the party nomination, even against incumbents. In districts where Republicans dominate, simply taking the nomination can be tantamount to victory.

The same method applies for taking over Republican Party structures. Elections for party posts are often held simultaneously with party primaries. The Christian Right runs a slate, methodically turns out its devotees in sleepy primaries, and takes control.

Dialing for Voters

Since its 1989 formation, Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition has been refining techniques for turning out the chosen few voters. Incorporating the remnants of Robertson's 1988 presidential run and mailing lists from his *Christian Broadcasting Network* TV empire, the Coalition has grown rapidly and now claims over 500 chapters in 49 states, and 250,000 members.

The Christian Right launched its pilot project in San Diego, Calif. In the June 1990 primaries, it gained control over the county GOP,⁴ and then quietly fielded 90 candidates for such local offices as school board, hospital board, and town council. In what has been dubbed the "San Diego surprise," 60 Coalition-backed candidates won office in low-turnout races, in multi-candidate fields. They were often



Linda Rosier/Impact Visuals

Many people didn't like Pat Buchanan's speech to the Republican Convention. "It probably sounded better in the original German," wrote columnist Molly Ivins.

3. Frederick Clarkson, "Christian Coalition: On the Road to Victory?," *Church & State*, January 1992.

4. Frederick Clarkson, "The Making of a Christian Police State," *The Freedom Writer*, September/October 1991. (Institute for First Amendment Studies, Box 589, Great Barrington, MA 01230). Some articles cited here have been compiled in *Challenging the Christian Right: The Activist's Handbook* by Frederick Clarkson and Skipp Porteous, also published by the Institute, 1992.

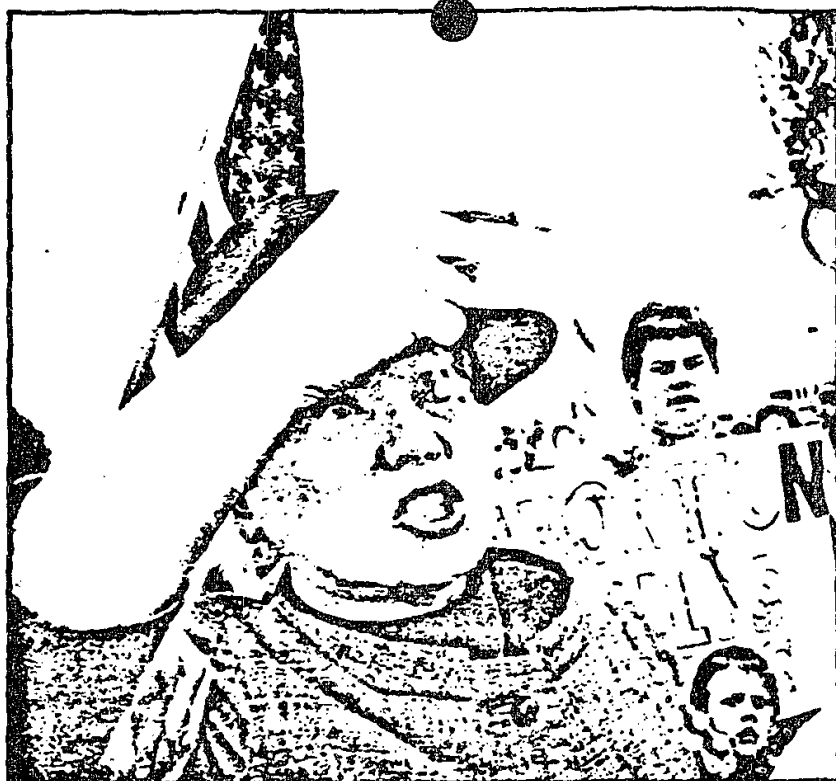
the media. Coalition Southern Regional Director Judy Haynes said of the Helms campaign: "The press had no idea what we were doing, and they still don't know what we did."

Divisions on the Right

Through this combination of centralized planning and grassroots organizing, the Christian Right hoped to work the same formula on the 1992 election. The Coalition promised to distribute 40 million Bush/Clinton presidential voter guides beginning in mid-October, with congressional candidates compared on the back.

Such overt support for Bush aside, conservative fury at the Republican establishment has created deep tensions within the Party. In September 1992, seeking pivotal reelection support, Bush addressed the Christian Coalition's national strategy conference. The next morning, in a closed session, Paul Weyrich, President of the Free Congress Foundation and leading Christian Right strategist, blasted the Republican establishment. "You know, I'm not against having these rallies...[with] candidates coming and presenting themselves.... I support [Bush]. I'll vote for him. But let's not have any illusions about what all of this is about. They wouldn't be caught dead with us under other circumstances. And the only reason they come here is because they're in trouble —and we bail them out—and then they turn their back on us and give us nothing in return! And we can no longer stand for it!" he shouted and was answered with a loud, long ovation.⁹

Significantly, Weyrich also spoke of an important new component of the Christian Coalition's political arsenal—National Empowerment Television (NET). He announced Ralph Reed's ascension to NET's board, which is chaired by former Secretary of Education William Bennett. Produced by the Free Congress Foundation and Coalitions for America, NET is an interactive closed-circuit satellite program, which presents an unfiltered conservative message and issues marching orders to conservative activists around the country. The technology links national leaders with grassroots organizers and supporters, and allows state-wide or even national teleconferences. The organization can almost instantaneously mobilize key leaders for lobbying and on other matters. On one



Jim Brozek/Impact Visuals

Operation Rescue tries to ward off pro-choice activists in Milwaukee, 1992.

The Christian Right runs a slate, methodically turns out its devotees in sleepy primaries, and takes control.

program, callers to an 800 number converse with hosts Weyrich, Michael Schwartz, and guests.¹¹ Although the system will take time to implement and is expensive to hook into, local subscribers are getting ready. The Pennsylvania Christian Coalition, for example, intends to produce its own program by January 1993. Meanwhile, Weyrich's show, "Family Forum Live" will be "part of the [Pennsylvania Coalition's] monthly meeting that will change the direction of our country."¹²

Covert Coalition

If the Christian Coalition's campaign resembles a sophisticated marketing/public relations campaign, it also contains elements of covert operations. Coalition Executive Director Ralph Reed makes local politics sound like Vietnam.

"I want to be invisible," the armchair warrior told one reporter. "I paint my face and travel at night. You don't know it's over until you're in a body bag. You don't know until election night."¹³

11. David Gergen, "The Dawn of Satellite Politics," *U.S. News & World Report*, May 4, 1992.

12. *Pennsylvania Christian Coalition County Action Plan*, distributed at September Road to Victory Conference, Atlanta, Georgia.

13. Mark O'Keefe, "Robertson's Phone Corps Boosted Local GOP," *Virginian-Pilot* (Norfolk), November 9, 1991.

9. Clarkson, "On the Road...," *op. cit.*

10. Frederick Clarkson and Joe Conason, "A Covert Coalition: Inside Robertson's G.O.P. Trojan Horse," *New York Observer*, September 28, 1992.

Fundamentally Different

The Christian Coalition is different from its predecessors on the Religious Right.

- It has drawn a large new batch of voters from the historically apolitical Pentecostal churches.
- The Coalition is shaping them into a far more disciplined voting bloc than has previously existed. A key goal is to create a permanent political operation—not one just geared to the election cycle.
- The organization is effectively using sophisticated computer technology to maximize its impact. Since the Christian Right is at least a small minority of potential voters almost everywhere, the leadership must accurately identify and turn out its own people as well as those who can be fooled into voting for its candidates.
- The Coalition combines grassroots organizing with careful, centralized planning.

It is not surprising, that from San Diego to Virginia Beach, the Christian Coalition's formula has been called "stealth tactics." In fact, the Coalition seems to become more covert in direct proportion to the degree of controversy it generates. Perhaps because the Republican National Convention generated such negative public and press reaction, Reed and Robertson have refused interview requests from major newspapers. More significant however, is the recently published *Pennsylvania Christian Coalition County Action Plan*—a 100-page manual for chapter organization and covert political operations against the Republican Party.¹⁴

The manual advises the "Republican Party liaison" of the local Coalition Executive Committee how to infiltrate GOP leadership:

[Y]ou should never mention the name Christian Coalition in Republican circles. ...Become directly involved in the local Republican Committee yourself so that you are an insider. This way you can get a copy of the local committee rules and a feel for who is in the current local Republican Committee.... [Once inside the party structure], recruit people for every vacant seat and for each seat being held by someone who is not conservative, pro-family and who will put the Republican party ahead of principles." (Emphases in the original.)

14. *New York Observer*, op. cit.; and see *Penn. Plan*, op. cit., pp. 9.1, 9.2

There is a similar job description for a "Democratic Party Liaison" but the manual discourages pursuing the job, because the Democrats are too "liberal."

Other Christian Right groups such as Citizens for Excellence in Education (CEE) and the Traditional Values Coalition, are actively using similar tactics in electoral campaigns around the U.S. "We have a plan to take our entire education system back and put it in God's hands," intones CEE President Robert Simonds. "And the way we are going to do it, is to take control of every school board in America." Simonds also says that civil government should function as "the police department within the Kingdom of God."¹⁵

Read My Lists

Since the ascent of Ronald Reagan, the Christian Right has formed a strange and uneasy alliance within the Republican Party. As a recent fundraising proposal from Lou Sheldon, chair of the California-based Traditional Values Coalition, obtained by *CovertAction*, makes clear, these avowedly "non-partisan" organizations are neck deep in party politics. "This proposal," it opens, "represents five main facets to extract volunteers and votes from the Evangelical Christian community for Bruce Herschensohn." Herschensohn is a right-wing California Republican who narrowly lost his bid for the U.S. Senate this November. The proposal goes on to discuss generating "foot soldiers" for Herschensohn.¹⁶

Despite its lip service to nonpartisanship, the Christian Coalition has targeted the GOP as its earthly vessel. The money flows back and forth between the two organizations. In October 1990, for example, the National Republican Senatorial Committee gave the Coalition \$64,000. The Coalition, in turn gave \$25,000 to the Virginia GOP. This mutual backscratching raised eyebrows at the IRS, which is investigating the Coalition's

provisional 501 (c)(4) non-profit tax status and its "extensive financial and political ties to the national and local Republican Party." An IRS spokesperson told the *Washington Post* that financing political parties, or involvement in internal party business is out of bounds. "Certainly," he said, "we would feel that providing money to a particular party is equivalent to providing it to a candidate.... In our view political party activities are clearly campaign intervention activity only slightly removed from the campaign."¹⁷

The flow of ideas is even more problematic. Many conventional Republicans disagree with the Christian Right on everything from religious tolerance, to abortion, to gi

15. Frederick Clarkson, "Christian Reich?," *Mother Jones*, November/December 1991; Sonia L. Nazario, "Crusader Vows to Put God Back Into Schools Using Local Elections," *Wall Street Journal*, July 15, 1992.

16. Lou Sheldon, *Grassroots Outreach Program Proposal*, August 27, 1990.

17. Michael Isikoff, "Christian Coalition Steps Boldly into Politics," *Washington Post*, September 10, 1992.

rights, and are horrified by its more bizarre conspiracy theories such as those targeting mainstream figures as dupes of the Devil. "Indeed, it may well be," wrote Robertson in his best-selling book *The New World Order*, "that men of good-will like Woodrow Wilson, Jimmy Carter, and George Bush ... are in reality unknowingly and unwittingly carrying out the mission, and mouthing the phrases of a tightly knit cabal whose goal is nothing less than a new order for the human race under the domination of Lucifer and his followers."¹⁸

Robertson and many of his followers believe there is a biblically prophesied end-times scenario at work. And during this current period of "tribulation," Christians of the right sort will be protected by God and emerge triumphant, as leaders of the Kingdom of God on Earth. Indeed, two years ago when Robertson renamed the school he founded from Christian Broadcasting Network University to Regent University, he explained the monarchical term. A "regent [is] one who governs in the absence of a sovereign." Thus Regent U.—a graduate school with 700 students, and plans for 3,000, with fully accredited programs in communications, education, religion, and law—trains students to "rule and reign" until Jesus, the sovereign, returns.¹⁹

The theocratic agenda of the Robertson empire has profoundly disturbing implications. The closest thing to a working model was Guatemala in 1982-83 under General Efraim Rios Montt. Robertson was an enthusiastic supporter of the military dictator who waged a brutal counterinsurgency campaign, complete with scorched earth slaughter of as many as 10,000 civilians. One pastor from *El Verbo*, the Complete Word Pentecostal sect in which Rios Montt was a leader, explained: "The Army doesn't massacre the Indians. It massacres demons, and the Indians are demon-possessed; they are communists. We hold Brother Efraim Rios Montt like King David of the Old Testament. He is the King of the New Testament."²⁰ Robertson recently praised the "enlightened leadership ... of former President Rios Montt."²¹

In her book *Spiritual Warfare: The Politics of the Christian Right*, Sara Diamond wrote about the Christian Right's worry that Reagan might not carry out its agenda. It saw the Rios Montt regime as a psychological boost: "The Guatemalan experience, however vicarious, of a born-again Christian, shepherding an entire nation, reinforced a mentality within born-again circles, that they could seize the reins

of power and install—by force if necessary—a 'kingdom of God on earth.'"²²

Robertson, like the Guatemalan pastor, sees "demons" everywhere. "The human potential movement," he writes, "as if part of a continuum, invariably leads to psychic power, and occult power leads straight to demonic power; and these lead, in turn to a single source of evil identified by the Bible as Satan."²³

Robertson's "demons" include the large number of U.S. women who define themselves as feminists. In summer 1992, Robertson signed a fundraising letter which opposed adding an equal rights amendment to the Iowa state constitution. "The feminist agenda," he avowed, "is not about equal rights for women. It is about a socialist, anti-family political movement that encourages women to leave their husbands, kill their children, practice witchcraft, destroy capitalism, and become lesbians."²⁴ Robertson later backed away from the letter and blamed it on his staff.

Nevertheless, Robertson has escalated his shrill rhetoric and targeted the ACLU, Communist Party, and National Council of Churches, which represents such mainstream Christians as Lutherans, Methodists, and Presbyterians. "The strategy against the American radical left," he wrote, "should be the same as General Douglas MacArthur employed against the Japanese in the Pacific: Bypass their strongholds, then surround them, isolate them, bombard them, then blast the individuals out of their power bunkers with hand-to-hand combat.... The battle to regain the soul of America won't be pleasant, but we will win it!"²⁵

In its battle cry, the Christian Right calls for a high-tech holy war. Using the sophisticated product marketing techniques developed by advertising and public relations corporations, this theocratic movement is

gaining significant influence in the Republican Party and capturing local and state governmental institutions for its Kingdom of God. Its tactics are part old-time community organizing, part revival meeting, and part shrewd ward-level machine politics. It threatens hellfire and promises real-politik power.

Although some skeptics cannot take the Religious Right seriously and find most televangelists simply silly, this serious political movement is positioning itself for power and digging in for the long haul.

22. Diamond, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 168.

24. Pat Robertson, undated fundraising letter, summer 1992. The charge of witchcraft prompted author-activist Barbara Ehrenreich to encourage an audience of feminists to picture Pat Robertson as a small green frog. "Concentrate, ladies," she urged, "concentrate."

25. Don Lattin, "Christian Right's New Political Push," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 15, 1992.

18. Robertson, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

19. Frederick Clarkson, "HardCor," *Church & State*, January 1991.

20. Sara Diamond, *Spiritual Warfare: The Politics of the Christian Right* (Boston: South End Press, 1989), p. 166.

21. Robertson, *The New World Order*, *op. cit.*, p. 228.

Although many pundits have described 1992 as the "Year of the Woman" in electoral politics, religious broadcaster Pat Robertson isn't so sure.

"The feminist agenda," he observed in a recent letter to his supporters, "is not about equal rights for women. It is about a socialist, anti-family political movement that encourages women to leave their husbands, kill their children, prac-

Democrats were gleeful. Such shrill rhetoric coming from a George Bush ally who gave a major address at the Republican Party convention in Houston was sure to turn off female voters and paint the Republicans as extremist.

At a rally in Memphis, Pauline Gore, mother of the Democratic vice presidential candidate, drove home the point. Noting that similar things were said when women were fighting for the right to vote, she criticized both Bush and Robertson. "It's appalling to me that they have left the family values that they were taught," she remarked. A pleased Bill Clinton stood nearby beaming.

Red-faced Republican campaign officials scurried for cover. "Because someone is supportive of the president does not mean that the campaign is associated with every statement that person may utter," Bush flack Tony Mitchell told the *Virginian-Pilot*.

A vacationing Pat Robertson was unavailable for comment, but his top political aide Ralph Reed was unrepentant. "I've received nothing but accolades from supporters around the country," he boasted.

The feminism flap is just one example of why the president and his Republican Party allies are nervous about their ties to Robertson and other branches of the Religious Right. The religious conservatives' exotic views and insatiable political demands make an alliance problematic at best, but the Republican team covets the Virginia Beach broadcaster's sophisticated, computer-driven network of grassroots activists and loyal right-wing voters. Bush campaign official Charles Black said Robertson represents a "very powerful, important constituency."

The Bush team has worked tirelessly to prove to Robertson and company that he deserves their support. In addition to a primetime spot on the podium at the GOP convention, Robertson was given Vice President Dan Quayle to address the Christian Coalition's "God and Country Rally" in Houston. In July the president himself granted Robertson an exclusive interview for his "700 Club" program on the Christian Broadcasting Network. (The two were photographed in front of

ROBERTSON

The Bush Campaign Needs The Religious Right's Support, But Can The Average American Voter Stand Pat?

by Joseph L. Coors

BOULETTE

tice witchcraft, destroy capitalism, and become lesbians."

Robertson undoubtedly intended his remarks to be seen only by a select audience—Christian Coalition donors in Iowa where an Equal Rights Amendment is on the ballot this November. But the Virginia Beach television evangelist's diatribe was leaked to the media, and stories about it appeared in newspapers and on news broadcasts around the nation.

the Old Executive Office Building in Washington.) In August Bush traveled to Virginia Beach to address the Christian Coalition's "Road to Victory II" Conference.

The Religious Right is clearly a growing force in the Republican Party that must be dealt with. Robertson and his Christian Coalition claimed only 300 delegates at the GOP convention, but when other religious conservatives were added in, some observers estimated that as many as 40 percent of the delegates represented factions of the Religious Right. The party platform, an agenda far to the right of Bush and many Republicans, showed the Religious Right's strength—and its hard-nosed antipathy to compromise on social issues.

The same hardline mentality showed up in many states around the country as Christian Coalition troops and their allies fought Old Guard Republicans for control of the party apparatus. The frequent result was animosity and lots of negative press. Here are some examples:

- **California:** The battle between Republican moderates and religious conservatives in California is well known (see "California Dreamin,'" October 1991 *Church & State*), and recent press accounts indicate that the bitterness is escalating. According to the *San Diego Union-Tribune*, a vulgar flier has been distributed in San Diego County attacking the Mainstream Voters Project (MVP), a group that monitors the Religious Right. The flier called one MVP leader a "bitter man-hating b—" and another "a militant dwarf who uses MVP to meet other women with hairy chests." Christian Right leaders denied any knowledge of the document and charged that the MVP may have produced it to create publicity.

- **Texas:** With the Christian Coalition's Dick Weinhold and other Religious Right figures serving on the platform

committee, Texas Republicans adopted an agenda in June that included support for private and home schooling, a federal voucher system, an end to the teaching of "secular humanism" in public schools, support for "creation science," a school prayer amendment to the U.S. Constitution, a ban on all abortions and "swift and unencumbered" capital punishment.

Dr. Steven Holze, a newly elected state executive committee member, observed in the *Houston Chronicle*, "If we are to survive as a free nation, and if justice and liberty are to be restored in our land, then biblical Christianity, with its



absolutes, must once again be embraced by our citizens."

- **Washington:** Although Washington is one of the nation's most unchurched states, the Republican convention there was dominated by Religious Right forces who adopted platform planks calling for a ban on all abortions, the removal of "witchcraft" from the public schools and a ban on the hiring of homosexuals in the fields of education and health care. According to the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, some delegates openly called for the abolition of church-state separation.

- **Virginia:** Pat Robertson favorite Patrick McSweeney was elected GOP chairman earlier this year, signaling new

strength for the television evangelist in the Old Dominion. Robertson and his son Gordon (who serves as 2nd District party chairman) were among Virginia delegates to the national convention. When the Christian Coalition's clout resulted in the election of several state legislators in the Virginia Beach area, some GOP critics were intimidated into silence.

"There's a lot of concern that Pat Robertson and his Christian Coalition is trying to dominate the party," GOP delegate Tony Zevolis told *The Washington Times*. "But nobody in their right mind would snub the Christian Right. They're too valuable in winning elections." Controversial Reagan administration figure Oliver North, a Robertson crony, met with the Virginia delegation in Houston in preparation for a possible U.S. Senate try.

- **Iowa:** Christian Coalition members and their allies easily dominated the state GOP convention, adopting a platform that *Des Moines Register* columnist Jennifer Mitchell said "reads like one of those religious pamphlets hawked door-to-door and on street corners." The platform attacks secular humanism, situation ethics, one-world government, "the PETA philosophy" and the Equal Rights Amendment. It supports an abortion ban, capital punishment, corporal punishment, prayer in public schools and "teaching the recognition of the existence of a Supreme Being and the validity of moral absolutes." Former state representative Sue Mullins told the *Register*, "This is no longer a political party. This is a religious cult."

- **Colorado:** Christian Coalition activists in the Centennial State made no secret of their views on the relationship between religion and government. According to *Rocky Mountain News* columnist Peter Blake, the group distributed a flier at the state GOP convention which said, "The Separation of Church and State

is (1) Not a teaching of the founding fathers; (2) Not an historical teaching; (3) Not a teaching of law (except in recent years); (4) Not a biblical teaching.

"In summary," said the CC's state director David S. Nelson, "There should be absolutely no 'Separation of Church and State' in America."

• **Louisiana:** According to New Orleans-based reporter Jason Berry, evangelicals control a third of the GOP State Central Committee's 144 seats, voting in lockstep on controversial issues. Writing in *The Washington Post*, Berry charged that in some communities Religious Right forces are teaming up with followers of neo-Nazi David Duke to seize con-

Congress," he said.

• **Alaska:** Religious Right forces remain strong in the state GOP. Former state legislator Edna DeVries has been chosen as national committeewoman. DeVries is perhaps best known for her unsuccessful 1986 campaign for lieutenant governor. During the race, she called the United States a Christian nation and dismissed the concept of church-state separation. Of those who disagreed with her stand, DeVries said, "I think they have a right to do what they want, but they shouldn't live in the United States. Maybe they should live in some other country. If they don't honor the United States as a Christian nation and they don't want to be a Chris-

on Foreign Relations and the Trilateral Commission, Robertson suggests that the president and those around him may be part of the sinister plot.

"It may well be," writes Robertson, "that men of goodwill like Woodrow Wilson, Jimmy Carter, and George Bush, who sincerely want a larger community of nations living at peace in our world, are in reality unknowingly and unwittingly carrying out the mission and mouthing the phrases of a tightly knit cabal whose goal is nothing less than a new order for the human race under the domination of Lucifer and his followers."

The millionaire broadcaster has also continued his dalliance with Christian Reconstructionism, the radical movement that seeks to impose "biblical law," including harsh Old Testament sanctions, on all aspects of modern American society. Robertson recently told *Christianity Today* that he is not a devotee of the theocratic drive, but he refused to disavow its goals.

"I don't agree with Reconstructionism," he said, "although I do believe that Jesus is Lord of all the world. I believe that he is Lord of the government, and the church, and business and education, and hopefully, one day, Lord of the press....I want the church to move into the world."

In a subsequent issue of the magazine, Christian Reconstructionist leader Gary DeMar said Robertson's stated position represents the "heart and soul" of the theonomic movement. "Reconstructionists have been saying this and getting criticized for it for over 30 years," he said. "At the very least, Pat Robertson, as I've always suspected, is an operational Reconstructionist."

Robertson political operatives know that in many ways Bush needs them more than they need him. Well on their way toward building a strong grassroots army, they are confident of their ultimate success regardless of the outcome of the race for the White House. Their agenda is rapidly advancing no matter what happens in this year's presidential contest.

The Christian Coalition's Ralph Reed told *Christianity Today*, "The media are missing it. This isn't the year of the woman; this is the year of the Lord." □



trol of local party offices.

• **South Carolina:** Republican Gov. Carroll Campbell and other GOP leaders seem willing to make a marriage of convenience with Robertson and his congregation. The governor attended a June 27 kickoff luncheon for the state Christian Coalition affiliate. Other Republican officials and candidates showed up as well. According to *The State*, a Columbia newspaper, Robertson told the crowd of 1,000 that his organization hopes to build a nationwide network of 600 chapters by the end of the year. "Our goal in 1992 is to elect a strong conservative majority in

tian, then there are many other countries that are not Christian."

The extremist rhetoric from Christian Right figures around the country is probably worrisome to Bush campaign officials, but it really isn't that much different from the shoot-from-the-hip statements made by Pat Robertson himself—some of them aimed at the party's presidential nominee. In his most recent book *The New World Order*, the television evangelist claims that an international conspiracy has been plotting for centuries to install a one-world Satanic dictatorship. Noting George Bush's ties to the Council

In November of last year freelance writer Frederick Clarkson went under cover to report on the activities at the Christian Coalition's "Road to Victory" Conference and Strategy Briefing in Virginia Beach, Va. Despite heightened security measures at this year's event, Clarkson was again able to attend the meeting and bring Church & State readers this special report from inside the Pat Robertson political machine.

Ralph Reed, executive director of the Christian Coalition, doesn't like security breaches. "I don't want to be too overly dramatic," he confided in the opening session of his group's "Road to Victory

President George Bush, marked a certain coming of age for Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition (which seeks outright control of the Republican Party by 1996). The religious broadcaster's army of followers is powerful enough to compel the presence of an incumbent president; yet it is controversial enough to require the secrecy of a covert operation for routine intra-party politicking.

Conference attendees from across the country flocked to Robertson headquarters in Virginia Beach on a warm autumn weekend to talk about the advanced new computer and television components of their grassroots mobilization on behalf of "pro-family" candidates. They learned the mechanics of how to take over the Republican Party from the inside and attended issues workshops on abortion, taxes, pornography and the "homosexual agenda." National figures such as Education Secretary Lamar Alexander, his predecessor William Bennett and the ubiquitous Oliver North spoke.

These speeches and President Bush's address were open to the news media. Twenty-two other speeches and workshops were not. Security was intended to be tight. As Reed told the *Virginian-Pilot* newspaper, all conferees were carefully screened by Christian Coalition state coordinators to make sure only Robertson allies were admitted.

George Bush's visit to the hub of the Robertson empire was the conference's main event. Christian Coalition activists had expected a major address on social issues. White House sources, said Reed, had indicated the president's talk would be "the central campaign speech by the president on family values."

Bush's remarks, however, deviated very little from his standard stump speech—the economy, private school vouchers and family values. School prayer and gay rights got no mention at all, and even abortion restrictions, a topic dear to the Religious Right, drew only a single sentence.

Bush even softened the Republican campaign's family values stance, embracing Murphy Brown-style single parent families. "I do not pass judgment,"

Inside The COVERT COALITION

Although President Bush's Visit Was A Public Endorsement, Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition Prefers To Do Most Of Its Work Behind Closed Doors

II" Conference. But it seems that at last year's conference, some people from "left wing organizations" got in and "subsequently wrote articles." (See "The Christian Coalition: On The Road To Victory?," January *Church & State*)

Reed wanted to make sure that didn't happen again. Thus, the 1,200 conference attendees and I were "hereby commissioned as deputy constables" to help evict any reporters who strayed into the workshops and strategy sessions. I kept a sharp eye out for "left-wingers" in those closed sessions. But I didn't spot any.

The mostly closed-door conclave in September, which featured a speech by

By Frederick Clarkson

said the president, "on the kind of family you live in, whether both parents work or just one parent, or whether you're a part of a single parent family. Families are not measured by what kind, but by how close."

This middle-of-the-road rhetoric—which briefly removed the smile from Robertson's usually avuncular face—was soon followed, however, by Bush remarks that warmly endorsed the television evangelist and his Christian Coalition. "Let me say how deeply I support all the work you're doing to restore the spiritual foundation of this nation," the president observed. "And I say this—the longer that Barbara and I are privileged to live in the White House the more I understand what Lincoln meant when he said he went to his knees in prayer."

To further please Robertson, Bush greeted over 100 major Christian Coalition donors and invited guests at a private reception in the rose garden of Pat Robertson's walled estate. With black swans gliding by on a pond and a harpist playing Pachelbel's "Canon in D Minor," the televangelist personally introduced members of his "inner circle" to the presidential candidate, mentioning their "help" or their "contributions."

Bush's Virginia Beach visit was apparently a deftly crafted campaign venture designed to shore up the president's standing among Religious Right activists without jeopardizing support among GOP moderates and ordinary voters who might be turned off by Robertson's shrill language and divisive religio-political agenda.

According to *The Washington Post*, top Bush aide James A. Baker III intentionally scheduled the Virginia Beach speech for 7:40 p.m., late enough to ensure that no coverage appeared on the network news programs and past the deadlines of many newspapers. To further deflect attention, Baker reportedly arranged for Bush to announce the sale of F-15 fighter planes to Saudi Arabia at a campaign stop earlier in the day, thus attracting press attention to that story.

The strategy worked fairly well. The Virginia Beach pilgrimage drew little national media scrutiny. Even *The New*



York Times, the nation's "newspaper of record," failed to record the event. But the carefully calibrated Bush courtship of the Religious Right wasn't lost on some hardliners.

The morning after the president spoke, Paul Weyrich of the Free Congress Foundation addressed the bitter GOP factional fight between moderates and right-wingers in a closed conference session. "It is very important," he declared, "that we not be pushed around as a movement, nor taken for granted by anybody. I do not want to see this movement become to one political party, what the blacks...have become to another political party."

"You know," he continued, "I'm not against having these rallies. And...candidates coming and presenting themselves....I support the man who spoke last night. I'll vote for him. But let's not have any illusions about what all of this is about. They wouldn't be caught dead with us under other circumstances. And the only reason they come here is because they're in trouble—and we bail them out—and then they turn their back on us and give us nothing in return," he declared, his voice rising. "And we can no longer stand for it!" Weyrich's blast provoked a loud and sustained ovation from the crowd.

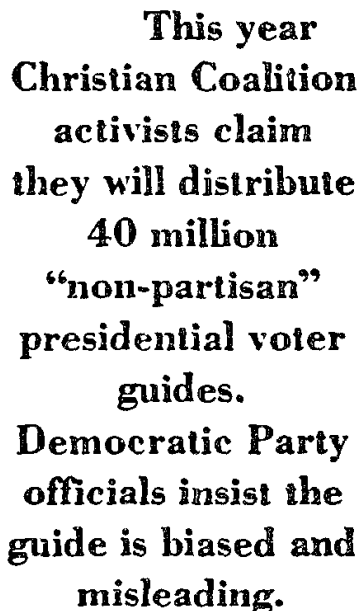
"We are in a war," Weyrich observed. There are, he insisted, two main compo-

nents of a winning strategy for that conflict: organization and communication. He envisions the Christian Coalition as the main organizational structure. The key communications mode is the newly created National Empowerment Television (NET)—a closed circuit, interactive satellite TV system produced by the Weyrich-run Coalitions for America. Through NET, leaders of the Christian Right can give their marching orders on electoral tactics and lobbying, and even hold national or intra-state tele-conferences. With Ralph Reed on the NET board, Weyrich expects that Christian Coalition affiliates will be plugging in soon.

The national impact could be great. Although it is only three years old, the Christian Coalition claims 250,000 members and 550 chapters. Press reports indicate a \$13-million war chest. All these resources are devoted to revoking the constitutional separation of church and state and giving Robertson and like-minded religionists a controlling influence in American society. Their first goal is dominance in the Republican Party.

Although the Christian Coalition is ostensibly a "nonpartisan" citizens action group, partisanship was everywhere apparent at the recent "Road to Victory II" Conference. This fact was perhaps best crystallized when one delegate declared

Although the national GOP, led by Ronald Reagan and George Bush, repudiated Duke in 1989 (when Duke ran as a Republican for the state legislature), it wasn't until November, 1990 that Robertson publicly urged McCormack to "examine" Duke's record. The Louisiana clergyman apparently found little to concern him. Although McCormack stopped short of a public endorsement in the 1991 race, Duke received 69 percent of the



Perhaps not surprisingly, there were few blacks (perhaps a dozen out of 1,200) among the Road to Victory delegates, and

"This way," the manual continues,

"you can get a copy of the local committee rules and a feel for who is in the current local Republican Committee." The Christian Coalition's liaison then is to recruit conservatives for vacant party posts or to run against moderates or others who "put the Republican Party ahead of principles."

In more candid moments, Christian Coalition leaders are boastful about their "stealth" tactics. "We've learned how to move under the radar in the cover of the night with shrubbery strapped to our helmets," the CC's Reed told *Newsday*. "It's like being a good submarine captain: You come up, fire three missiles and then dive."

Meanwhile, among the facts raising eyebrows at the IRS is \$64,000 which the Christian Coalition, a tax-exempt group, received from the National Republican Senatorial Committee in October 1990—just before the November election. Perhaps coincidentally, Coalition activists assisted the come-from-behind re-election drive of Sen. Jesse Helms (R-NC) that year.

In an early use of a tactic the Coalition has since employed widely, 750,000 "voter guides" were distributed, mostly through churches, on the Sunday just before the Tuesday vote. "The press had no idea what we were doing," said Regional Director Judy Haynes at the Christian Coalition conference last year. "And they still don't know what we did."

While reports of such victories give the group momentum going into the November elections and beyond, they also may lead to some bumps and detours on the "Road to Victory." The *Washington Post* recently reported an ongoing IRS investigation of possible violations of the Coalition's provisional 501(c)(4) non-profit tax status. At issue is the Coalition's electoral and GOP activities, which may exceed the limits of federal tax guidelines.

This potential problem, however, seems to be of little concern to Christian Coalition activists this year. They claim they will distribute 40 million "non-partisan" presidential voter guides (including one million in New York and 2.5 million in Florida) and millions more aimed at candidates in state and local races. Ac-

cording to literature mailed to evangelical and fundamentalist churches across the country, unlimited numbers of the "Christian Coalition Family Values Voter Guide" are available for the asking.

Signed by Robertson, Campus Crusade founder Bill Bright, Southern Baptist Convention President Ed Young and former SBC president Adrian Rogers, the cover letter implores "Christian leaders" to "provide your members with the non-partisan knowledge they need to prosper as citizens." The flier assures readers that the Christian Coalition is a "non-profit organization that is not affiliated with any political party and does not endorse candidates."

The voters guide then goes on to charge that Democrat Bill Clinton supports "abortion on demand," homosexual rights, raising income taxes, tax-funded abortion and condom distribution in schools. Clinton opposes, the guide says, a balanced budget amendment, parental choice in education (vouchers), term limits and increased funding for the Strategic Defense Initiative (the so-called "Star Wars" system).

In contrast, Bush is listed as taking the opposite position of all these issues. (The two candidates are both listed as supporting the line-item veto and the death penalty.) Democratic Party officials insist the guide is biased and misleading. Avi Lavelle, press secretary for the Clinton campaign, called it a "gross oversimplification."

Computerized voter identification and voter guides continue to be the twin engines of the Christian Coalition's electoral strategy. They have worked dramatically well. For example, in Central Florida (in and around Orlando), 22 of 27 Coalition-backed candidates won GOP primaries in September.

"We want to build the largest voter file in America," said Guy Rogers. Comprised of anti-abortion and anti-gay voters, the files contain a variety of other personal and political data about individuals so that, according to Rogers, "we not only know who they are but what precinct they vote in."

"That right there," he slowly intoned, "is the ammo for Uzis. One of the prob-

lems we've (had) as Christians," he said, extending the violent metaphor, "is we've pointed Uzis at the opposition, but when we've pulled the trigger, there've been no bullets."

Christian Right leaders are anxious to expand the range of issues that animate their constituents. Opposition to abortion has been the rallying point of past efforts, but homosexuality is apparently the next big issue designed to stir emotions and win the organization support for its larger goals.

Guy Rogers gets unnervingly agitated about the political accomplishments and level of organization of the gay community. "Why do you think the homosexuals have made so many inroads the last few years?" he asked. "Because they have so many people? No! Not only do they not have a lot of people, they are dying off. And they're dying young."

The conference's best attended workshop, a session on the "Homosexual Agenda," drew about half the attendees (who chose among four concurrent sessions). It was led by *Boston Herald* columnist Don Feder and Lon Mabon of the Oregon Citizens Alliance (a Christian Coalition affiliate). Mabon is spearheading an Oregon ballot referendum this year that would require government to oppose homosexuality, an initiative that the Coalition hopes to replicate in other states.

What does all this mean? As evidenced by the extraordinary Republican National Convention and a string of electoral successes, Pat Robertson and the Christian Coalition are fast becoming a powerful force in the GOP, and indeed in American society at large. So far, they're doing so with little more than a disciplined voting bloc, computers and political smarts. How long this small, but fervent faction can out-organize the vast majority in many areas remains to be seen.

Meanwhile, Christian Coalition activists are buoyant. Said the CC's Rogers, "Legislators are looking at us with a very keen eye because they know we've reached a point where we can deliver votes. We can turn our people out, educated on the issues. And that scares you know what out of 'em." □

Pat.
Sens1

it never once showed Mr. <Coverdell's> face or broadcast his voice.
But Tom Perdue, Mr. <Coverdell> campaign manager, defended the candidate approach. "If we had just highlighted who Paul <Coverdell> was, we probably would not have won," he said.

LEVEL 1 - 2 OF 4 STORIES
Copyright 1992 The Washington Post
The Washington Post

<November> 26, 1992, Thursday, Final Edition

SECTION: FIRST SECTION; PAGE A12; POLITICS

LENGTH: 325 words

HEADLINE: <Coverdell> Says Georgians Had Change on Their Mind

SERIES: Occasional

BYLINE: Maralee Schwartz

BODY:

Sen. Wyche Fowler Jr. (D-Ga.) conceded to Republican Paul <Coverdell> yesterday, saying he wanted to spare taxpayers the cost of a recount.

"He won," Fowler told WAGA-TV in Atlanta.

According to nearly complete returns yesterday, <Coverdell> unseated Fowler by a 1.4 percent margin in Tuesday's runoff election.

<Coverdell>, former Bush administration Peace Corps director, had 630,023 votes, or 50.7 percent, to Fowler's 613,846, or 49.3 percent, with all but 10 of the state's 2,801 precincts reporting.

<Coverdell>, an Atlanta insurance executive, told CNN yesterday morning that he considered the vote "an extension of the national election [in which] change was still on the mind of many voters here in Georgia."

Conservative groups, including the Christian Coalition and the National <Right to Life> Committee, claimed major credit for <Coverdell's> victory after they mobilized support among Georgia's fundamentalist Christian churches to defeat Fowler.

E. Spencer Abraham, co-chairman of the National Republican Congressional Committee, called Fowler's defeat "the first sign that Bill Clinton will have the shortest honeymoon in presidential history."

Clinton and Vice President-elect Gore had made campaign appearances for Fowler.

Senate Minority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.), who campaigned for <Coverdell>, said the election was "more proof that the Republican Party is alive and well." He said the outcome should be a message to Clinton: "Don't go too far, and don't go too fast."

But several political observers in Georgia said Fowler probably would have lost by a larger margin if Clinton and Gore had not campaigned for him.

Clinton communications director George Stephanopoulos told reporters that Clinton "went and stood up for his friends."

"We're disappointed. It was awful close," Stephanopoulos said. "We feel bad for Senator Fowler and his family and wish him the best, but now it's time to move on to the future."

LEVEL 1 - 3 OF 4 STORIES

Copyright 1992 Levitt Communications, Inc.
Roll Call

<November> 23, 1992

LENGTH: 2480 words

HEADLINE: Georgia Senate Nail-Biter Voters Pick <Coverdell> or Fowler Tuesday; Clinton Campaigns Today

BYLINE: By Tim Curran

Copyright 1992 The Times Mirror Company
Los Angeles Times

<November> 29, 1992, Sunday, Home Edition
Correction Appended

SECTION: Magazine; Page 28; Magazine Desk

LENGTH: 4100 words

HEADLINE: BEDEVILING THE GOP;
WITH 'STEALTH' CANDIDATES, TIGHT DISCIPLINE AND CASH, THE RELIGIOUS RIGHT
DOMINATED THE REPUBLICAN AGENDA. NOW, THE BATTLE'S ON FOR THE PARTY'S SOUL --
AND ITS FUTURE.

BYLINE: By MICHAEL D'ANTONIO and Michael D'Antonio is a New York-based writer
whose last article for this magazine dealt with the crisis in children's health
care. His most recent book, "Heaven on Earth," was published earlier this year
by Crown.
> > >

Los Angeles Times, November 29, 1992

BODY:

IT WAS MOURNING IN THE REV. PAT ROBERTSON'S AMERICA. On the day after Bill Clinton was elected President, Robertson smiled wanly and consoled the millions who watch his "700 Club" cable TV show. As the pewter-haired televangelist lamented what democracy had wrought, it seemed as though God Himself had lost the <election.> Plagues and disasters were on the horizon. At the very least, economic collapse and radical abortion laws -- baby-killing laws, really -- are coming. "The child can be coming out of the birth canal," said the political preacher, "and they'll say it's OK to kill it."

The despairing went on for the better part of an hour. Robertson and his guests described the future as a Christian Right nightmare. "Radical feminists" such as Barbara Boxer and Dianne Feinstein were taking over the <Senate.> Clinton would allow homosexuals in the military. He would put women in combat and gays in the Cabinet. "Family values" were dead. "I'm anything but happy," Robertson said. "But we'll see what happens."

Robertson and his Christian Right movement -- politically conservative fundamentalists, evangelicals and Catholics -- could be forgiven a bit of self-indulgent wallowing. Time had finally run out on their crusade to create a Christian America. It wasn't that they hadn't had their chance. Since 1980,
> > >

Los Angeles Times, November 29, 1992

the Christian Right had been developing into a fearsome political force. It was the key to the Reagan/Bush victories. But what had 12 years of incumbency produced? Abortion is still legal and school prayer is not. There is no voucher plan to benefit private religious schools. Homosexuality has not been pushed back into the closet. Hollywood and the rest of the hated "cultural elite" still dominate the media. And the future of the Supreme Court is now in the hands of a Democrat.

On Nov. 4, the Christian Right movement's leaders could not accept that America had rejected their brand of "family values." After all, their agenda is

God's agenda, and God cannot be wrong. Robertson and his allies could only conclude that President Bush had not pushed hard enough. He had been too soft on the gays and the lesbians and the feminists. Now they would have to train their sights on the Republican Party itself. Their goal: to turn the GOP into a religious/political organization to promote Robertson's vision of conservative Christian America.

So Democrats gleefully compete for window offices in Washington, and the Republican Party faces a civil war the likes of which it has not seen since the Goldwater and Rockefeller forces self-destructed in 1964. Columnist Patrick J. Buchanan, the snarling pit bull of the 1992 convention, may have declared a
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Los Angeles Times, November 29, 1992

holy war with Clinton over the future of America. But now that the war is lost, Buchanan and the Christian Right are turning their fury on their own party. They are already blaming traditional, non-religious Republicans for the defeat, and they are preparing to seize the GOP. For their part, equally angry Republican regulars have begun to compare the Christian Right to neo-Nazis. And it could be a decade or more before the looming war between the two camps can be settled.

IN THE DAYS AFTER THE <ELECTION,> ROBERTSON'S POLITICAL ORGANIZATION -- the Christian Coalition -- was already maneuvering. By Friday, coalition director Ralph Reed was on the road to Williamsburg, Va., and a summit meeting with other conservative religious political activists. Boyish to the point of looking like a character from "Happy Days," Reed, 31, has already headed a number of organizations for young Republicans. In 1989, Conservative Digest hailed him as "a rising young star" in Republican politics. Though he looks like a choirboy, Reed speaks the blunt, warlike language made familiar by the likes of Lee Atwater and Roger Ailes and has a reputation as a slash-and-burn political operator. He was a driving force behind the anti-gay ordinances that were passed in both Colorado and Tampa, Fla., but failed in Maine and Oregon. He also directed a multimillion-dollar campaign that quietly pushed Christian activists into local offices nationwide.
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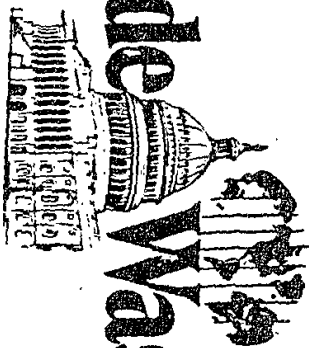
Los Angeles Times, November 29, 1992

Reed's ultimate goal is to take over the GOP from the bottom up. To do that, he can tap a \$10-million annual budget and call on dues-paying activists in more than 100,000 born-again churches. This fall, more than 1,000 of these people were trained in the ways of taking over precinct-level party committees, foreshadowing a larger effort to dominate every state party organization. The coalition can also count on the support of a host of smaller Religious Right political organizations run by longtime activists, including Paul <Weyrich's> Free Congress Foundation and Richard Viguerie's United Conservatives of America, both Washington-based, and Lou Sheldon's Traditional Values Coalition in California. These groups provide financial and tactical support for Christian candidates running for everything from school board to Congress.

Robertson's activists practically perfected the art of the political takeover in South Carolina in 1988. There they used churches to quietly send large numbers of people to precinct caucuses. These newcomers overwhelmed party meetings that normally drew just a handful of political veterans. Then, when it came time to vote on delegates and precinct officers, they swept their own people in. Old-time Republicans, who called themselves the "regulars," eventually organized to win back some power, but the Christians have retained their strength.
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THIS WEEK'S NEWS FROM

Inside Washington



'Religious Right' Issues Critical

Why Coverdell Won Crucial Georgia Election

Republicans who decry the so-called "Religious Right" as a harmful force within the GOP were forced to eat their words November 24, as Republican Paul Coverdell unseated Democratic Sen. Wyche Fowler in Georgia's high-stakes special run-off election.

By virtually every account in the Peach State, what proved critical in the 53-year-old moder-



example was that of Houston County, home of Georgia's senior Sen. Sam Nunn (D.) and a longtime beneficiary of his position as chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee. Most area pundits concluded that the issue of gays in the military proved pivotal in such sharp turnarounds.

Coverdell's dramatic victory also eliminated another myth among moderate GOP'ers: that the "Religious Right" is so rigid and uncompromising in its views that it will not and cannot work with more middle-of-the-road Republican candidates.

Georgia's new senator is anything but a "Religious Right" candidate. A close personal friend of George Bush (the chaired Bush's 1980 Georgia primary campaign against Ronald Reagan) and long identified with the party's Atlanta-based "establishment wing," former State Sen. and Peace Corps Director Coverdell has been likened in several press reports to "[comedian] Dana Carvey doing his imitation of George Bush."

In addition, he favors *Roe v. Wade* (although he opposes FOCA) and had to overcome three more right-of-center opponents to win the GOP nomination. But he was light years more conservative than Fowler, who sports the highest rating from the liberal Americans for Democratic Action of any Dixie senator. That was enough for Georgia's pro-

Second Thoughts on Somalia

With his great success in Desert Storm, President Bush won the public's confidence in making decisions to insert American troops abroad in ticklish situations. Thus, he is likely to gain public approval for putting a division into starving Somalia. But some lawmakers are having second thoughts.

Rep. John Murtha (D.-Pa.), who chairs the defense appropriations subcommittee, says people who ought to know "don't know what the mission is." Senate Armed Services Chairman Sam Nunn (D.-Ga.) says he's also bothered by the ambiguous nature of our commitment. "Ave we," he asks, "trying to simply get humanitarian aid through for this winter? Or are we trying to basically disarm the armed groups that are over there?"

And many fear the commitment could be endless, since Somalia is so unstable. If we withdraw, says Nunn, people are likely to say: "How can you pull [the troops] back with the tragedy that may ensue after they leave?"

In one heated television debate, Coverdell gained ground by declaring, "I know Sam Nunn's record and, Wyche, you're no Sam Nunn!" — whereupon he spelled out where Fowler differed with Nunn: in supporting the 1989 congressional



COVERDELL

ate-conservative Coverdell's election was his opposition to abortion-on-demand and gays in the military, positions "Religious Right" foes customarily argue backfire on Republicans. But these issues enabled the ex-Peace Corps director to become Georgia's second GOP senator since Reconstruction.

By opposing the Freedom of Choice Act (FOCA)—which goes far beyond *Roe v. Wade* in striking down all state restrictions on abortion—and President-elect Clinton's decision to lift the ban on homosexuals in the military, Coverdell energized evangelical conservatives and traditional values advocates at the grass-roots level. Their campaign activities undoubtedly helped to make possible his razor-thin victory (16,000 votes out of more than 1.2 million cast) over the incumbent.

Strong evidence that these issues played well was the large turnout for Coverdell among blue-collar Democrats and Georgia's large military community. In three counties—Jenkins, Screven and Lincoln—blue-collar Democrats turned to Coverdell in such numbers that he became the first Republican ever to carry them in a race for statewide office.

Moreover, several counties that had gone to Democrat Fowler in the initial balloting November 3 switched to Coverdell in the runoff three weeks later. The most noteworthy

figures were in counties with the largest military populations. But he was light years more conservative than Fowler, who sports the highest rating from the liberal Americans for Democratic Action of any Dixie senator. That was enough for Georgia's protesters and evangelical conservatives to roll up their sleeves for Coverdell.

Even moderate Rep. Jim Leach (R-Iowa), a "Religious Right" critic, conceded on "Meet the Press" that "in Georgia... [Religious Right] people supported a Republican candidate who was not exactly of their liking."

In ousting Fowler, Coverdell overcame the historic odds against Republicans in his state, a huge spending disadvantage (Fowler apparently spent close to twice as much as Coverdell on the runoff), and appearances on behalf of the incumbent by Bill Clinton, Al Gore, and former President (and Georgia son) Jimmy Carter.

In so doing, Coverdell was able to give his party's national leadership something to crow about only three weeks after they lost the White House.

Noting that the defeat of Fowler leaves the U.S. Senate with the same 57-10-43-seat Democratic majority as before the November 3 presidential election, Senate Republican Leader Bob Dole proclaimed it as tangible evidence that Democrats received no mandate for a major liberal agenda in the November elections.

"I think this is an indication that there is a signal being sent out there by the people of Georgia to President-elect Clinton," said Dole, who stumped vigorously for Coverdell. "Don't go too far and too fast."

His moderate credentials aside, nominee Coverdell also ran on strong conservative themes in the earlier contest against Wyche, vividly delineating the differences between Fowler and the more popular, more conservative Sam Nunn.

In one heated television debate, Coverdell gained ground by declaring, "I know Sam Nunn's record and, Wyche, you're no Sam Nunn!"—whereupon he spelled out where Fowler differed with Nunn: in supporting the 1989 congressional pay raise; in opposing the death penalty for violent crime; and in voting against school prayer, choice in education and SDI.

But Coverdell still wasn't able to overcome Fowler's lead by November 3. As Democrat Clinton carried the state, Fowler outpooled Coverdell by a tight 49 to 48 per cent margin, with the remainder going to the Libertarian candidate. Under a 28-year-old state law requiring a majority, the top two vote-getters were forced into the November 24 runoff.

It was in the runoff that the issues of abortion and homosexuals in the military moved to the fore.

State anti-abortion activists launched an independent effort against the incumbent and the evangelical conservatives went into action.

Waycross Mayor John Knox (a leader of the state's Pat Robertson forces and past primary opponent to Coverdell) energized his forces on behalf of the Republican nominee in the runoff, and the state affiliate of Robertson's Christian Coalition oversaw the mailing of more than one million "voter guides" that contrasted the positions of Coverdell and Fowler on both social and economic issues, including the Balanced Budget Amendment and taxes. (The Libertarian candidate, as well as the state Petrol organization, also wound up endorsing Coverdell.)

Summarizing the activities of the conservatives, Augusta Chronicle editor Phil Kent told HUMAN EVENTS that "there's no question such groups were an integral part of Paul Coverdell's winning coalition. They mobilized disaffected conservative

and Exchange Commission disclosed he bought in 1989 for \$100,000. The Family Channel is crown jewel of a media empire which includes a radio venture; U.S. Media Corp., which bid for UPL; and Northstar Entertainment Group Inc. Robertson, whose cash pay as International Family Entertainment chairman was listed as more than \$371,000 last year, is also chancellor of Virginia-based Regent University and head of the Operation Blessing International Relief and Development Corp. (*The Buffalo News*, May 14, 1992)

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WHEN PAT ROBERTSON LOST his 1988 presidential bid, many wrote the Christian broadcaster's political obituary. Now it looks as though his failed national campaign may have been more of a political springboard than a coffin. Through his low-profile but potent Christian Coalition, Robertson has re-emerged as a heavy hitter in big-league GOP politics . . . Instead of trying to wrest control of the Republican party from the top down, as Robertson did in 1988, the Christian Coalition is infiltrating from the grass roots up. The goal is to mobilize enough Christian activists to control the GOP and Congress by 1996. Judging from the coalition's two-year record, it is off to a strong start . . . What remains to be seen is whether the efforts of Robertson's group and the Christian right will strengthen the GOP or fracture what historically has been the nation's most cohesive political party.

. . . GOP squabbling hasn't seemed to slow down the Christian Coalition. The organization has 16 staff members based in Chesapeake who oversee 210 local Christian Coalition chapters in 42 states. In just two years the coalition message has gleaned financial support from 250,000 contributors. This year it has \$12 million in its war chest - double what it received in 1991. "Think like Jesus. Lead Like Moses. Fight like David. Run like Lincoln," is one of the group's rallying cries. Among its supporters have been the National Republican Senatorial Committee, which was the organization's largest initial contributor, giving it \$64,000 in 1990, financial records show. (*The Virginian-Pilot*, June 21, 1992)

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. . . THE CHRISTIAN COALITION has used donations to build a vast computer list of more than 1 million voters. It also publishes a bimonthly newspaper, called the Christian American, which has a paid circulation of 200,000. Among the publication's contributing writers are GOP activist Phyllis Schlafly, founder of the anti-abortion group Eagle Forum, and Oliver North. (*The Virginian-Pilot*, June 21, 1992)

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LIBERTARIAN GUEST - Rodney Travis, Libertarian candidate for Charleston House District 113, has been a special guest of the delegation all week. He was invited by Andy and Roberta Combs of Hanahan . . . Andy Combs is seeking the GOP nomination for Senate District 44. Roberta Combs is state president of the Christian Coalition and former treasurer of the state GOP. (*The State-Record* (Columbia, SC), August 19, 1992)

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... LEADERS OF THE CONSERVATIVE CALIFORNIA Republican Assembly and their allies, the Christian Coalition, the Gun Owners of California, the Pro- Life Pact and Operation Rescue contend their efforts and funding helped nominate 10 conservative candidates for the Assembly. Candidates they backed lost in two other races to candidates supported by Wilson, for a 10-2 "victory." . . . The principal groups in the ad hoc coalition headed by the California Republican Assembly include: The Christian Coalition, headed by Sarah DeVito Hardman, a Los Angeles- area furniture manufacturer. Her group, which she says has some 10,000 members, grew out of Pat Robertson's national organization after the minister's 1988 presidential campaign. Hardman says the group seeks to "educate voters with pro-family" arguments; The Gun Owners of California and the National Rifle Association . . . (*The San Francisco Examiner*, June 7, 1992)

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... IN AN APRIL LETTER TO BUSH re-election official Charlie Black, leaders of the Virginia-based Christian Coalition offered a list of 53 Californians whom "Pat Robertson would like to be seriously considered as delegates" to the GOP convention. However, only four of Robertson's nominees were included in the delegate list released last week by the Bush campaign. (*The Sacramento Bee*, May 17, 1992)

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... TAX RECORDS AND CHRISTIAN COALITION DOCUMENTS show extensive financial and political ties to national and local Republican Party organizations . . . records here show that the largest single contributor has been the National Republican Senatorial Committee, which gave \$ 64,000 - described by Reed as "seed money" - in October 1990.

...RECORDS ALSO SHOW THE CHRISTIAN COALITION in turn has made \$31,000 in political contributions, including \$25,000 for what Reed called "generic party-building" to a local Virginia Republican Party committee during last year's state legislative races. Those races were openly targeted by the Christian Coalition, whose members distributed thousands of pro-family voter guides that were heavily tilted on behalf of local Republican candidates, a key factor, many Democrats said, in the GOP picking up eight seats in the Virginia Senate.

"They openly targeted me by using their phone banks starting in July 1991 and getting their voters to the polls, calling them as many as five times," said Moody E. Stallings Jr., a Democratic state senator from Virginia Beach who lost to a Christian Coalition-backed Republican. "I would have to say they were a major factor in my defeat." Robertson trumpeted the results of the Virginia state legislative races in a fund-raising letter on Christian Coalition stationery two months ago, noting the "stunning upset victory" of his forces in legislative elections in his home base of Virginia Beach. "This was the first time that a Republican majority had been elected from this city in over 100 years!" Robertson wrote.

... Reed acknowledged in an interview that the IRS is conducting a separate audit of the Christian Coalition and that the agency has yet to approve its 1989 application for 501C(4) tax-exempt status. Marcus Owens, director of exemption organizations for the IRS, said the lack of a formal ruling means that the organization can continue to raise and spend money but may be liable for back taxes if the IRS determines that it did not qualify for the exemption . . . "Certainly we would feel that providing money to a particular party is equivalent to providing it to a candidate. In our view, political party activities are clearly campaign intervention activity only slightly removed from the campaign." (*The Washington Post*, September 10, 1992)

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... QUAYLE, IN FACT, has been far ahead of his patron in appealing to evangelical concerns. He first launched his assault on the "cultural elite" nearly a year ago in a little-noted speech to Robertson's Christian Coalition, a group contending for control of G.O.P. organizations in several states. He elaborated on that theme, and attracted more attention, at the Southern Baptists' annual meeting in June. Lately Bush has also been singing from the same hymnal -- albeit in gentler tones. In July he appeared on Robertson's TV show, where he dutifully pledged allegiance to most items on the religious right's agenda. He also agreed to

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December 31, <1988,> Saturday, Final Edition

SECTION: FIRST SECTION; PAGE A3

LENGTH: 528 words

HEADLINE: FEC Fines Robertson <Campaign> \$ 25,000;

Commission Says TV Evangelist Filed as a <Presidential> Candidate a Year Late

BYLINE: Charles R. Babcock, Washington Post Staff Writer

BODY:

The Federal <Election> Commission has fined the Republican <presidential> <campaign> of television evangelist <Pat Robertson> \$ 25,000, saying he violated federal <election> law by filing as a candidate a year later than he should have.

In a conciliation agreement signed by Robertson's <campaign> attorney, Marion Edwyn Harrison, the FEC said that "the context and content" of a Sept. 17, 1986, broadcast Robertson made from Constitution Hall and a related direct-mail program "went beyond the testing of the feasibility of a <campaign.> . . ."

Robertson said that night, in a speech beamed by satellite to 150,000 supporters, that he would become a candidate if 3 million registered voters signed petitions saying they would back the effort. But he didn't officially file as a candidate or report how he was raising money until Oct. 15, 1987.

FEC general counsel Lawrence M. Noble noted that Robertson mailed out fund raising letters to 1.6 million people following the broadcast, including one that said contributors could claim a tax credit for a contribution of \$ 50 to a candidate. Robertson received more than \$ 2.3 million from those solicitations.

The agreement stated that Robertson's committee spent more than \$ 5,000 in connection with the show and "Mr. Robertson became a candidate for the office of president approximately one year earlier than the date on which he filed his statement of candidacy." In addition, it said, his <campaign> committee, Americans for Robertson, should have filed financial reports beginning at least with the 1986 year-end report.

Harrison filed papers, including affidavits from Robertson and his <campaign> manager R. Marc Nuttle, contending the September 1986 event cost \$ 4.2 million more than it raised, and that his candidacy was clearly "conditioned" on what was termed 3 million "indications of support." Harrison said yesterday that this meant some of the indications of support were pledges instead of actual signatures.

Harrison said that the FEC first wanted the Robertson <campaign> to pay a civil penalty "pretty close to double" the \$ 25,000 in the settlement. He negotiated the price down, saying, "It gets to a point where the cost of settling is cheaper than the cost of litigation."

The fine is to be paid in six monthly installments of \$ 4,166.66 starting Jan. 1.

Robertson's <campaign> raised and spent more than \$ 20 million, but won few delegates. The candidate has since returned as host of the "700 Club" on the Christian Broadcasting Network (CBN) he founded in Virginia Beach.

The fine on the late filing of his candidacy was the result of an FEC investigation of a complaint from a California man, Harvey Furgatch. The FEC is conducting an audit of the Robertson <campaign> because it accepted several million dollars in public funds.

In addition, the Internal Revenue Service has been auditing CBN to see if the Robertson-controlled <tax-exempt> network was illegally aiding his partisan political work. That investigation started after disclosures that CBN had transferred millions of dollars to a connected group trying to register Christians to become Robertson delegates in the GOP primary in Michigan.

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May 14, <1988,> Saturday, Final Edition

SECTION: EDITORIAL; PAGE A25; FREE FOR ALL

LENGTH: 606 words

HEADLINE: Robertson's Money: For Television Or Politics?

BODY:

On the Free for All page April 30, <Pat Robertson> attempted to explain his "side of the story" on "whether millions of dollars spent by the Freedom Council, a <tax-exempt> foundation, controlled by Mr. Robertson, were spent for political purposes," as you accurately stated the matter in your editorial of April 25. But how does he defend taking \$ 8.5 million in 1984, 1985 and 1986 -- money given for the evangelistic and charitable work of the Christian Broadcasting Network -- to launch his <presidential campaign?>

"In 1981, I formed the Freedom Council to fight religious injustice by prayer education and public and legal action. During most of the time thereafter, management and direction of the Freedom Council were in the hands of officers and directors other than myself," he said in his letter to The Post.

In fact, the 1983 IRS return of the Freedom Council indicates that it had no income and no expenditures. Apparently, two years after its creation, the council was little more than a legal entity in a desk drawer. Ah, but in 1984, it listed \$ 690,000 in revenues while it spent \$ 1,271,000. (How that is possible is not clear.) But the CBN tax return shows that \$ 822,000 was "loaned" to the Freedom Council -- funds that were never repaid. What happened to the other \$ 132,000? That's unclear too. But in 1985, CBN made grants to the Freedom Council of \$ 4,632,000. That was the year that Robertson began his efforts to seize control of the Michigan Republican Party. In 1986 came \$ 3 million more. Why?

He candidly says, "In the fall of 1985, the Michigan Republican Party announced an arcane program of precinct delegate selection that would allow delegates a voice in the <election> of state party officers and . . . in <1988,> the delegates from Michigan to the Republican National Convention. . . . Since one of the goals of the Freedom Council was to fight for religious freedom through public action, it seemed perfectly appropriate under IRS guidelines for the Freedom Council to educate and encourage people to participate on a nonpartisan basis in the political process."

Was Vice President George Bush or Rep. Jack Kemp opposed to "religious freedom"? The Freedom Council and Robertson never gave any evidence of it. Why, then, was it necessary to compete with Bush and Kemp for precinct delegates? The real reason is that Michigan was the first state to choose its delegation to the Republican National Convention. Robertson hoped to win Michigan and thereby have a running start on the Iowa caucuses and the New Hampshire primary. In fact, by electing 4,000 precinct delegates -- more than Bush or Kemp -- he was able to take over the state Republican committee. Gregory Jackson, the Freedom Council's last executive director, told me that when he tried to overrule certain expenditures as being "too political" for a nonprofit, nonpartisan group like the Freedom Council, Robertson overruled him, saying, "Greg, we need to do this." Jackson also says that "Pat had no legal authority in the Freedom Council after the fall of 1985, but he called all the shots the whole time I was there. When I told him about the IRS investigation [of its funding], he shut it down in a day." So much for Robertson's claim that the council's management was in the hands of others.

Robertson claims that the "work of the Freedom Council was fully within legal and ethical guidelines." But did the 500,000 people who contribute to the Christian Broadcasting Network give \$ 8.5 million for Robertson to run for president?

-- Michael J. McManus

Michael J. McManus writes a syndicated column on ethics and religion.

2004-2005

EXHIBIT 16

Citizen Action: Noah's Ark or a Sham?

By Richard E. Cohen

Citizen Action, a prominent liberal activist group, has in recent years methodically broadened the scope of its activities from legislative lobbying to the national electoral arena, with considerable success.

But some of the tactics used by the Chicago-based organization—whose leadership will be convening in Washington in mid-June to plot presidential campaign strategy—have come under intense scrutiny. And some of Citizen Action's Republican targets have charged that it is violating federal election and tax laws.

Citizen Action is a national coalition of state-based groups that embraces progressive-style politics and uses a grass-roots approach to frequently get its way with lawmakers. In its assertiveness, it parallels many other tax-exempt coalitions that have become pointedly more partisan. But few of the other groups have attracted such harsh criticism.

Senate Republicans call the complex Citizen Action web of organizations a "sham." "Citizen Action has been skirting laws that restrict the activities of tax-exempt corporate groups," said Benjamin Ginsberg, the National Republican Senatorial Committee's legal counsel. "And its massive political contacts with non-members are illegal corporate contributions that escape full public disclosure."

Critics pounce on a classified advertisement that the national arm of Citizen Action recently ran in *The Washington Post*, seeking students who can earn up to \$400 a week this summer to "help elect a Democrat to the White House" by joining its "community outreach" staff.

"This is not a nonpartisan group," said Sen. Robert W. Kasten Jr., R-Wis., who prompted the GOP inquiry following attacks against him in his 1986 reelection campaign by Wisconsin Action Coalition, part of the Citizen Action network. "The idea that they are trying to elect a presidential candidate is outside the spirit—and maybe the letter—of the law."

Robert M. Brandon, who is vice

president and political director of Citizen Action, dismissed Kasten's criticism, saying, "We only use the organization's resources to communicate with our members on behalf of a candidate." Communications with the public, he said, are made through affiliated political action committees (PACs). "We are not unique. We are important because we are effective and are trying to bring people into the political process. . . . Republicans don't like it when they are attacked in the political arena."

Kasten challenged the Wisconsin group's attacks in October 1986 by fil-



Robert W. Kasten Jr.
Has challenged group's tax-exempt status

ing complaints with the Internal Revenue Service and the Federal Election Commission (FEC), but neither agency has issued a response. Under the tax law, a so-called 501(c)(4) organization promoting the social welfare is entitled to tax-exempt status, but it may not intervene with the public on behalf of or in opposition to a political candidate. The House Ways and Means Committee recently held hearings on alleged abuses by tax-exempt groups.

In a separate proceeding, which Kasten and his party colleagues were

unaware of until recently, the FEC has fined the Illinois Public Action Council—another tax-exempt arm of Citizen Action—for making illegal corporate contributions to congressional candidates in 1984. Robert Creamer, the council's executive director, signed a conciliation agreement with the commission and agreed in September 1986 to pay a \$5,000 civil penalty. Under its procedures, the FEC did not disclose the details of this case, which resulted from an internal staff review, until two months ago.

Citizen Action's emergence as a self-styled national progressive movement has made it a growing political force. By becoming increasingly involved in national campaigns, along with races for local offices, its leaders say they have been shifting the national debate away from the policies of the Reagan Administration.

According to Citizen Action's promotional materials, the network in 1986 supported Democratic candidates for the Senate in Georgia, Maryland, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, Washington and Wisconsin. Its impact has been trumpeted by national political reporters, including *Washington Post* columnist David S. Broder, who called the state groups "a growing political presence and force in the country."

The Midwest Academy, a national training center for Citizen Action's political foot soldiers, has scheduled a retreat in Washington on June 17-19 to discuss this year's presidential campaign and to set strategy for the Democratic convention and the election.

At a separate meeting in the capital slated for June 19, the Citizen Action board may decide to endorse the Democratic presidential nominee, Brandon said. Four years ago, the group endorsed Democrat Walter F. Mondale for President.

Despite these nationally focused campaign activities, Citizen Action is better known on Capitol Hill for its lobbying on behalf of issues such as energy regulation, toxic waste disposal and health care. Brandon said that the group fought for expanded prescrip-

(continued on p. 1550)

(continued from p. 1548)

tion drug coverage in the catastrophic illness insurance legislation, which Congress cleared in early June.

Citizen Action affiliates pursue similar agendas in nearly two dozen states. "We are a federation of statewide citizen organizations," Brandon said. "Most of our work is done at the state level and is directed to legislative activities." The state groups make wide use of neighborhood canvassers to generate grass-roots support among members and nonmembers.

Citizen Action was first organized in 1980 to pursue state issues on a national level. It receives dues from its state chapters, which have 1.6 million members. Heather Booth, the national president, works out of Citizen Action's Chicago office.

The national group also has worked closely with and has received financial assistance from other organizations, including the National Council for Senior Citizens and several labor unions. Citizen Action's Washington offices are in the International Association of Machinists building; in January, Citizen Action gave machinists president William W. Winpisinger its first lifetime achievement award.

Also providing substantial aid to Citizen Action have been the nation's trial lawyers, who are known for their aggressive legislative and electoral tactics on issues that affect them, such as their opposition to national product liability legislation.

Citizen Action has maintained an especially active relationship with a narrow segment of the trial lawyer community, the approximately 90 attorneys who represent railroad union members in liability cases. Robert J.F. Brobyn, a Philadelphia lawyer who is chairman of the group that calls itself Campaign for Safe Railroads, said that it was organized in 1986 in response to efforts by the nation's railroads to replace the existing liability coverage for rail workers with a form of workers' compensation. "This would be bad for the employees and bad for their law-

yers, by moving away from a fault system," he said.

In 1987, Brobyn's group merged forces with several other organizations, including Citizen Action and the Illinois Public Action Council, to form the Coalition for Safe and Responsible Railroads. The council was paid \$50,000 to prepare a document on railroad safety, which includes data on railroad accidents. "I found them an excellent organization," Brobyn said.

Citizen Action issued a statement in Washington on May 26 criticizing Kasten for supporting an effort by Amtrak to change the Federal Employees' Liability Act, the 80-year-old law governing railway workers' injury cases. "Kasten's amendment on Amtrak is clearly intended by the rail industry to be a foot in the door towards eliminating this stringent safety law," said Creamer, head of the Illinois Public Action Council.

Included in the materials was a four-page briefing paper on the danger

ploiting the present outdated railroad workers' compensation system," Sims said. "The group's shrill contention that safety will be undermined is completely unfounded." Kasten, who is ranking Republican on the Commerce, Science and Transportation Subcommittee on Surface Transportation, has not introduced legislation, but he has discussed Amtrak's request for a three-year trial period with a workers' compensation system.

The 1986 campaign opposition to Kasten was another example of the Citizen Action-labor-trial lawyer connection. Kasten's opponent was Ed Garvey, a trial lawyer who previously served as the outspoken executive director of the National Football League Players Association.

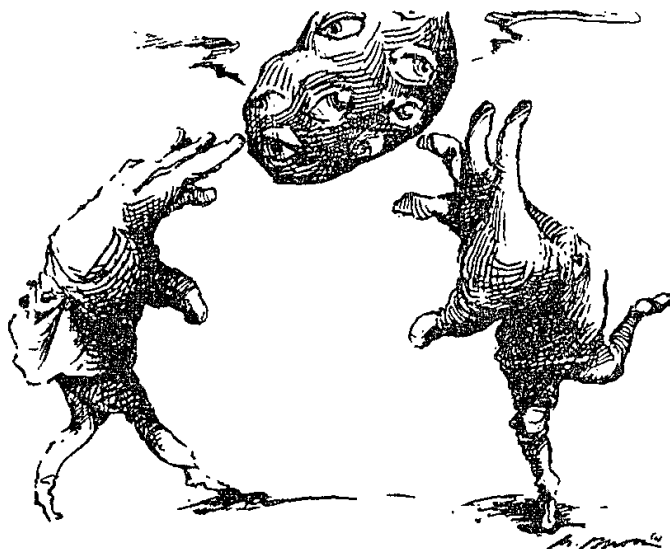
In its 1986 campaign against Kasten, for example, the Wisconsin Action Coalition ran radio advertisements criticizing his votes on social security. "We watched the blending of the Garvey campaign and Wisconsin

Action Coalition," Kasten said. Eagan has denied the charge; his group's responses on Kasten's complaint to the federal agencies remain private.

Similar controversy surrounded the 1986 campaign against GOP Sen. Slade Gorton by Washington Fair Share—another part of the network. Gorton lost and is making a comeback attempt this year. And the Missouri Citizen/Labor Coalition held press conferences to highlight the campaign contributions from toxic waste

dumpers received by Senate GOP candidate Christopher S. (Kit) Bond.

Kasten said that the National Republican Senatorial Committee plans soon to file tax and election-law complaints against the Citizen Action network and that he may pursue legislative action to prevent what he sees as abuses by tax-exempt groups. "The citizen-volunteer aura that these groups try to cloak themselves in is fraudulent," he said. "We are going to expose them for what they are—activists supporting Democratic candidates."



of railroads, which cited the Illinois group's study, and criticism of Kasten by Jeff Eagan, executive director of the Wisconsin Action Coalition. "Maybe our activities serve the interests of trial lawyers," Eagan said in an interview. "But our group is broad-based. We're like Noah's ark." Creamer and Eagan held three press conferences across Wisconsin to trumpet their study.

Kasten responded with a statement by James T. Sims, his press secretary. "This liberal political group isn't representing the public safety so much as they are trial lawyers who are ex-

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EXHIBIT 17

them up is by applying a fair standard across the board.

Personally, I would like to see candidates voluntarily agree to speak for themselves. My own experience tells me it is unlikely that this will be agreed to. That is why I support this amendment. It still allows for some anonymous announcer to sling mud, but at least it requires that the candidate sponsoring it be identified.

This bill is really no departure from current disclosure and disclaimer theory. It simply translates the fiction of thumbnail photos and unreadable newsprint disclaimers into the reality of a disclaimer that voters can in fact recognize.

I will never forget the demonstration of one media consultant who tried to talk me into running negative anonymous ads. With great pride he showed me how he could camouflage the background of the tiny photo and newsprint disclaimer now required to make them unreadable. He put it to the test by telling people in advance where it was; he placed the ad four times in a row, and five out of five people could not read or identify the disclaimer.

The point here is that contrary to the stated purpose of current law, we have no disclaimer requirement, in fact. This amendment does nothing more than recognize and correct the currency deficiency in existing disclaimer law.

I have a hard time seeing how anyone who supports the disclaimer concept can oppose this amendment.

Some criticize this as an incumbent's protection plan. But that is not true. In fact, in my home State we had a House challenger endorse my more stringent proposal because he didn't like the cheap-shot campaigns. He, like I, ran ads about his opponent. But he had the conviction to speak for himself. Only one of five congressional candidates refused.

This amendment is far less demanding than my own standard. It is simply an effective disclosure requirement which, for the first time, effectively does what the original campaign disclosure act promised, and I again commend its author.

I urge my colleagues to join me in support of this amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order the Chair recognizes the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. McConnell] for purposes of offering an amendment.

AMENDMENT NO. 272 TO AMENDMENT NO. 983

Purpose: To deny tax status to certain organizations participating in campaigns.

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the desk and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Kentucky [Mr. McConnell] proposes an amendment numbered 272 to amendment No. 242.

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment is as follows:

At the end of the amendment, insert the following:

SEC. RESTRICTIONS ON SOFT MONEY ACTIVITIES OF TAX-EXEMPT ORGANIZATIONS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 501 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 (relating to exemption from tax) is amended by redesignating subsection (n) as subsection (o) and by inserting after subsection (m) the following new subsection:

"(n) DENIAL OF TAX-EXEMPT STATUS FOR ACTIVITIES TO INFLUENCE A FEDERAL ELECTION.—An organization shall not be treated as exempt from tax under subsection (a) if such organization participates or intervenes in any political campaign on behalf of or in opposition to any candidate for Federal office."

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by subsection (a) shall apply to any participation or intervention by an organization on or after the date of enactment or September 1, 1992, whichever is later.

SEC. DENIAL OF TAX-EXEMPT STATUS FOR CERTAIN POLITICALLY ACTIVE ORGANIZATIONS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 501 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 (relating to exemption from tax), as amended by the preceding section, is amended by redesignating subsection (o) as subsection (p) and by inserting after subsection (n) the following new subsection:

"(o) DENIAL OF TAX-EXEMPT STATUS FOR CERTAIN POLITICALLY ACTIVE ORGANIZATIONS.—

"(1) IN GENERAL.—An organization shall not be treated as exempted from tax under subsection (a) if—

"(A) such organization devotes any of its operating budget to—

"(i) voter registration or get-out-the-vote campaigns; or

"(ii) participation or intervention in any political campaign on behalf of or in opposition to any candidate for public office; and

"(B) a candidate, or an authorized committee of a candidate, has—

"(i) solicited contributions to, or on behalf of, such organization; and

"(ii) the solicitation is made in cooperation, consultation, or concert with, or at the request or suggestion of, such organization.

"(2) CANDIDATE DEFINED.—For purposes of this subsection—

"(A) IN GENERAL.—The term 'candidate' has the meaning given such term by paragraph (2) of section 301 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 431(2)).

"(B) MEMBERS OF CONGRESS.—The term 'candidate' shall include any Senator or Representative in, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress unless—

"(i) the date for filing for nomination, or election to, such office has passed and such individual has not so filed; and

"(ii) such individual is not otherwise a candidate described in subparagraph (A)."

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years ending after the date of enactment of this Act, but only with respect to solicitations or suggestions by candidates made after the date of the enactment of this Act.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order there are 30 minutes equally divided for debate on this amendment.

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, there has been a lot of talk about soft money in this debate, but we really have not dealt with it yet. The definition of soft money is that it is money spent by labor unions, corporations, and political parties to affect the outcome of elections but which is not reported to the FEC, disclosed to the public, or limited or regulated by law. Soft money activities can also be conducted in consultation with the candidate, as opposed to independent expenditures, which must be done independent of the candidate. Soft money activities can be engaged in by political parties and by groups that are not political parties, tax-exempt groups.

S. 3, the bill before us, seeks to nail parties, the one entity in America that will stand up for challengers. Unfortunately we are going to have a rollcall vote on Senator Dole's amendment to provide seed money for challengers, further evidence that S. 3 is designed to further tilt the scale against challengers.

Mr. President, in dealing with soft money, S. 3 crunches the soft money out of the parties but leaves all soft money expenditures by nonparties completely unaffected.

With this amendment, I hope to eliminate one of the most insidious forms of taxpayer financing of campaigns in our system: Tax-free corporations, subsidized under our Tax Code which participate aggressively in political campaigns, taking sides and doing everything in their power to get the outcome they want. The only difference between these groups and politically involved private citizens is that the citizens pay taxes; the corporations do not.

This amendment simply says that if a corporation wants to participate in a political campaign on behalf of or in opposition to a candidate for Federal office, they will not be punished. No public money will go to their opponent, but nor will they be able to claim exemption from taxes that every other American citizen pays.

The rule here is simple and fair: If you want to play, you have to pay. If a corporation wants to operate as an adjunct campaign organization for a particular candidate or activity, promote or attack the candidate, it is not going to get a tax break for doing it.

This amendment has a second important purpose. Everyone in this body is concerned about the black market of soft money that is choking Presidential and congressional races, principally Presidential races. The major players in this black market are tax-free organizations, labor unions and thousands of other corporations formed under section 501(c) of the Internal Revenue code.

With computerized phone banks, targeted direct mail, intricate money-transferring schemes, and coordinated earned media strategies, these tax-free corporations run possibly the most so-

phisticated black market in America. None of this activity—I repeat, none of this activity—is publicly disclosed. All of it is conducted beneath the radar of the Federal Election Commission. Experts have submitted that about half the total money spent in the last Presidential election was soft money, unreported, undisclosed, unlimited, some of it by political parties. Much of that, however, was disclosed. Millions by the nonparty groups.

One reason why these organizations can afford such massive stealth campaigns is that they are subsidized through their tax exemption. In other words, we are forcing the American taxpayer to help subsidize the soft-money black market. My amendment corrects this outrageous anomaly in the tax law. If you are against taxpayer financing, as most Americans are, or if you are simply against continuing this tax break for soft money, you should vote for this amendment. If you think soft money deserves a tax exemption, then obviously you will be against this amendment. But, if we are going to get serious about eliminating soft money, then the first thing we should do is take away its tax breaks.

Whenever a new measure is introduced, there is always some concern about what the language means and how the courts will interpret it. The Democratic leader and I discussed this last summer during this debate. For simplicity sake, my amendment adopts the exact same language that defines the permissible activities of charitable organizations set forth in section 501(c)(3) of the Tax Code. This language is old, tested, and true. In fact, it was drafted and offered in 1954 by then Senator Lyndon Johnson. Since then, this language has been upheld repeatedly in the courts and refined by 35 years of judicial interpretation.

For example, although tax-free corporations are banned from intervening in political campaigns, they are nevertheless free to conduct voter education programs on the positions of candidates so long as the program includes both sides. Under this language, tax-free corporations are free to hold debates with the candidates and public forums on issues without jeopardizing their tax status.

However, such debates and forums must be impartial and fair to both candidates. That is hardly much to ask in return for a tax break. On the other hand, if the tax-free corporation wants to run attack phone banks or send hate mail about a particular candidate, it is free to do so, but it must give up its exemption from taxes. Or, and this is very important, Mr. President, it needs to set up a separate political committee, a nonconnected PAC which all of us believe will still be allowed no matter what legislation we pass, and report activities to the FEC. In other words, the soft money is converted into hard money.

If an organization wants to run a negative-earned media campaign

against a candidate, it is free to do so, but the taxpayers will no longer be required to subsidize it.

If my amendment becomes law, soft money loses its tax exemption. It is as simple as that.

Finally, let me mention one other important thing my amendment does. There are a number of tax-exempt groups that conduct voter registration drives. That is an admirable and much needed activity in these days of declining voter turnout. But, there is a risk of political motivation with voter drives, especially when the money paying for the activity is donated or raised by a candidate. My amendment eliminates that risk by taking away the tax exemption of any group that conducts voter registration or get-out-the-vote drives while knowingly—knowingly—accepting money from a candidate for Federal office.

In other words, a tax-exempt group may not ask a candidate to solicit funds on its behalf or cooperate with a solicitation and then turn around and do voter registration and get-out-the-vote activities.

Mr. President, how much time do I have remaining?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Kentucky has 7 minutes and 55 seconds.

Mr. McCONNELL. I reserve the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. BOREN. I yield myself such time as I might require.

Mr. President, I think there is an honest misunderstanding and misunderstanding of what the current law is by the author of the amendment, in all due respect. This is an amendment that I hope my colleagues will look at very carefully and understand what we are doing here. This is an amendment on which I really feel obligated to raise a red flag, and I hope that those staff members who are listening to this discussion and Members who are listening to this discussion in their offices will really pay attention to what this amendment will actually do, because I think if they do pay attention to the actual effect of this amendment, there is no way that they would want to approve it.

What are the facts? Under the current law, 501(c)(3) charitable organizations—these are organizations that are nonprofit charitable organizations that have a total tax deduction that are organized to be charities—may not participate or intervene in any political campaign on behalf of or in opposition to any candidate for public office. And if they do so, they can lose their tax-exempt status. I do not think, Mr. President, that anyone would argue with that.

But what this amendment would do is extend that same rule to 501(c) organizations. 501(c) organizations, as opposed to purely charitable organizations like, let us say, the Salvation Army or some organization like that,

are generally not taxed organizations but they are not necessarily charities. These are the kinds of organizations that include civic and business leagues, labor unions, agricultural organizations, veterans organizations, fraternal societies and the like, the American Legion, the VFW, the Farm Bureau, the Farmers Union—these kinds of organizations—the National Rifle Association, for example. These are the kinds of organizations that are 501(c) organizations. They are civic organizations, fraternal organizations; they are not charities, per se.

The 501(c) organizations are already taxed on any political activity. The current tax law under section 527(f) of the Internal Revenue Code requires that tax exempt 501(c) organizations pay taxes on that portion of their income devoted to political activities. So we have already taken care, essentially, of the problem that is being described by the Senator from Kentucky; 501(c)(3) charitable organizations simply cannot participate in the political process for or against candidates or they lose their tax exempt status; 501(c) organizations, if they get involved for or against candidates in political activities, are taxed upon those activities and, therefore, are not treated as tax exempt.

But what would the amendment do if it is adopted? And this is what I hope, Mr. President, that Members will pay close attention to and really consider before they vote on this amendment. The effect of the McConnell amendment, if it is adopted, would be that, for example, these organizations, which I talked about, could not inform their own Members about political issues and the political records of candidates. A veterans organization, for example, could not inform its membership that a congressional candidate is opposed to and votes against all veterans programs. The National Rifle Association, or an association on the other side of that issue, dedicated to changes in the gun laws could not inform their own members of the records or points of view of Members of Congress or candidates on issues related to gun control, for example. The Farmers Union and the Farm Bureau could not inform the members of their organization as to the position or voting records of Members of Congress or their opponents related to agricultural issues. Nor could they run editorials or make other comments or descriptive comments to their own members in relationship to pending issues before the Congress that might be considered to be political.

Mr. President, I do not think any of us want to go that far. I do not think we want to go so far as to say if the American Legion or the VFW, for example, decides they want to inform the members of voting issues of Members of Congress they lose their entire tax-exempt status and are taxed on everything they do, including bene-

ficial programs to help the veterans of this country. I use that as an example.

This certainly is the case of throwing out the baby with the bath water. The appropriate thing to do is that if the VFW, or the American Legion, or the Farm Bureau, or the NRA, or any other organization decides to get involved for or against political candidates in terms of supporting them and spending money on campaigns, those political activities are taxed, that that organization is not treated as tax-exempt for that purpose.

I do not think we want to go so far as to—we have heard so much about the freedom of speech and freedom of expression from those on the other side during the course of this debate—muzzle organizations which are basic service and fraternal organizations from communicating with their own members, for example, about the voting records and the positions which Members of Congress have taken on a particular issue. That is going too far.

I urge Members before they vote to consider how they are going to go back and explain to the members of the American Legion, for example, why they voted to take away their right to communicate with their own members, or if they do communicate with their own members on issues of the day they are going to take away their tax-exempt status.

In fact, we have also heard a good deal about we do not want any tax increase. Senator Packwood came to the floor and said we were raising taxes if we took away the tax subsidy now being given to lobbying organizations, massive amounts of money lobbying Congress each year, \$100,000 a year lobbying organizations, paying for their lobbying activities.

The Senator from Oregon said during that debate that that was a tax increase. Certainly, if that was a tax increase, which I think is subject to some question, if we are going to here apply the same rules across the board to impose taxes on the American Legion, for example, for communicating with their own members about political matters and giving the records of candidates by taking away their tax-exempt status, that would certainly be a tax.

So, Mr. President, while I think, undoubtedly, this amendment is well-intentioned, it has some very unintended consequences. It is going to end up penalizing and punishing 501(c) organizations for communicating with their own members and for sharing information about, for example, voting records of all of us.

I think the American Legion ought to be able to communicate with all of its members and to be able to say that Senator X or Senator Y have been voting consistently against the veterans or for them, or Senator X or his opponent are taking differing positions on very important veterans' issues of interest to the American Legion. That is informative. I think

the Farmers Union or the Farm Bureau or the American Agriculture Movement, or any other group in agriculture, for example, ought to have the same privilege.

So I urge Members to vote down this amendment offered by the Senator from Kentucky. I think we have a solution to the problem already in the Tax Code. It is merely a matter of enforcement.

The 501(c)(3) organizations devoted to charity loose their tax-exempt status if they do engage in this kind of political activity; 501(c)(3) organizations are taxed up to the amount of their political activity. We do not make them taxable on everything just because they do attempt to communicate with their own members and provide information to their own members about the issues of today and the records of candidates and records of Members.

So, Mr. President, all I would say is Members should read the fine print of this amendment before they vote on it because it goes much further than we should go in terms of constraining freedom of association in this country.

I reserve the remainder of my time.
The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Shelby). Who yields time?

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, the Senator from Kentucky is tempted to say "There you go again" to the Senator from Oklahoma. Reading again *The Law Of Tax-Exempt Organizations*, there is not going to be any prohibition against operations notifying their members.

The IRS voter education guidelines are clear. It says that they may notify their members, give them the voting records of all incumbents; candidates for reelection will not be identified.

3. No comment will be made on an individual's overall qualification for public office.

4. No statements, expressly or impliedly, endorsing or rejecting any incumbent as a candidate for public office will be offered.

5. No comparison of incumbents with other candidates will be made.

It goes on down through No. 8, Mr. President.

It is very clear, Mr. President, that groups will be able to continue to notify their members of the voting records of candidates. It is right here. It is well-established law.

In addition, Mr. President, the other side argues this amendment is not necessary since all tax-exempt organizations are already subject to tax on their political activities. Section 527 of the Internal Revenue Code to which the other side refers imposes a special tax on tax-exempt corporations that attempt to influence an election. However, that tax is applied to the lesser of, one, how much money is spent directly on the political activity, though not including overhead or administrative costs; or two, the corporation's investment income for the year.

This ends up being a very small amount, hardly reflecting the corporation's total financial commitment to

political activities and many such tax-exempt organizations just consider this tax to be a cost of doing business in the soft money black market.

In other words, the code section to which my friend from Oklahoma refers has virtually no impact on tax-exempt soft money. My amendment, on the other hand, completely eliminates the tax exemption for organizations that conduct soft money activities. But, Mr. President, all that does is make the organization choose: either give up its tax exemption, which I suspect none of them will choose to do, or get out of the soft money black market by stopping such activities altogether and setting up a separate political activity, as many of the organizations do today, a separate nonconnected PAC—they do that today—which converts their activities from soft money into hard money. When that happens, Mr. President, then it is on the FEC report. The black market is gone. The group still is allowed to participate but it participates through hard money. When the soft money is converted to hard money, it becomes limited and disclosed like everybody else's contribution. So this is not going to impact adversely any of these organizations except that they get out of the soft money market and participate through hard money, like everybody else in America, outside the tax exemption.

This thought that churches, farmers' cooperatives, veterans' groups, and other organizations that play an important part in the process are going to somehow be handicapped is just simply wrong. Civic organizations have always played an important role in promoting political involvement and educating votes in a fair, unbiased way. That kind of activity is not soft money, Mr. President. There is nothing wrong with it. My amendment would not affect it in any way.

Civil groups, churches, and any other organizations formed under the tax-exempt corporation law would be free to conduct voter registration, voter education, candidate forums, candidate debates, compilation of voting records, and candidate questionnaires, among other political activities, without, I repeat without, jeopardizing their tax exemption. However, these activities must be, as they should be, nonpartisan, unbiased, and fair to both sides.

If, on the other hand, a tax-exempt organization wants to support one candidate over another, or one party over another, and do mailings or phone banks or leafleting or statewide press conferences on behalf of that position, that becomes clearly soft money and the taxpayer should not be forced to subsidize it through a lucrative tax exemption. That is all my amendment does.

Let me add that if any of these tax-exempt groups want to set up a sepa-

rate political action committee to engage in political activities, they may do so under my amendment but in effect what that does is turn a soft money activity into a hard money activity. That is desirable, Mr. President.

The FEC report would mean something if the McConnell amendment would be adopted. You would be able to pick up an FEC report and you would really know what is being spent, and it would have no adverse impact whatsoever on these tax-exempt organizations. If they wanted to participate in politics, they would simply do it through a hard money activity rather than a soft money activity. It does not prohibit their communicating with their members, or doing most of the things that they do today that are nonpartisan.

But when they step over into the partisan field, Mr. President, they ought to be on the same footing as everybody else in the American political office, through limited and disallowed contributions reported to the FEC. That is all this does. Any effort to characterize it otherwise is an attempt to scare Members of this body into thinking that they are casting a vote against the veterans of America, or any other tax-exempt group. That is absurd.

They will still be able to function in a nonpartisan way and keep their tax-exempt status. But when they start desiring to operate on behalf of a particular candidate, or a particular party, they must set up a nonconnected PAC, which none of us believe can be abolished by any legislation that we pass, converting that activity into a hard money activity, therefore limited, disclosed, and on the FEC forms like everybody else in America.

Mr. President, how much time do I have remaining?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. 1 minute, 30 seconds.

Mr. McCONNELL. I reserve the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. BOREN. I yield 5 minutes to my colleague, the distinguished Senator from Texas.

Mr. BENTSEN. Thank you very much.

I see my friend from Kentucky wants to kill this bill. It is a great way to kill it because it will obviously be loose-lipped on the House side. Tax legislation has to originate on the House side and not on this side.

We have been through this before. Article I, section 7 of the Constitution specifies all bills for raising revenues shall originate in the House of Representatives.

I must tell you the House of Representatives feels very strongly about this. They are very zealous in protecting that particular prerogative.

Some Senators may wonder whether that origination clause gives too much power and privilege to the House. But I remind Senators that the Constitu-

tion itself provides this body with certain prerogatives—to try impeachments; responsibility to give advice and consent to treaties, to appointments of Ambassadors, Supreme Court Justices, and other officers of the United States.

I have been frustrated myself at times when serving in this body and as chairman of the Finance Committee with our inability to send S-numbered revenue bills over to the House and speed up that process. But these are the realities.

The bottom line is it is not our choice to observe the Constitution's limitations in this case. It is not a question of whether we like the organization clause. The House is going to insist on their prerogatives in this case.

The merits of the amendment has nothing to do with it. All this amendment can do is kill the bill. We voted on this last year. It was a substantial vote against it. It was 58 to 41. I say to my friend from Kentucky that did not reflect on the substance, and the merits of his amendment. But it sure tells us the realities of what we face in the House.

So I strongly urge the Members of the Senate, unless they are totally against campaign reform, to vote against this amendment.

When he proposes legislation like this, without moving provisions through the committee, that is not the way the committee system works. The purpose of having committees is to allow those with the expertise and the experience in that particular area to give it a close look, to see whether it merits approval, then bring it before this body to try to strike a balance between the competing proposals. That is the best overall policy.

Mr. McCONNELL. If the Senator from Kentucky were allowed to modify his amendment to make it a sense-of-the-Senate resolution, would the Senator from Texas then support the amendment of the Senator from Kentucky?

Mr. BENTSEN. I say to the Senator from Kentucky, in all candor, I did not give that much attention to the substance because it was so obviously loose-lipped, and I ran into that one before. I have been up against this many times, as the Senator from Kentucky knows, and he has too. Sometimes it is a bit of a putdown for us. But that is it.

Mr. McCONNELL. The Senator would not object if I, in order to meet his technical concern, constitutional concern, simply modify my amendment to make it a sense-of-the-Senate resolution?

Mr. BENTSEN. I would reserve the right to object for the manager of the bill on this side. I would not comment on the substance of the issue.

Mr. BOREN. Mr. President, I would be constrained to object because I object also to the substance of the matter. I looked at the Internal Reve-

nue's new rulings. There is a case which I have at my desk in which the courts in applying the rules on the 501(c)(3) have given interpretation that communication with one's own members might result in loss of tax-exempt status. I am very concerned about the substance as well. I feel it should not be done.

Mr. McCONNELL. Let me say briefly that the Senator from Kentucky has offered to modify his amendment to make it a sense-of-the-Senate resolution. That has been objected to by the manager on the other side.

Obviously, the technical issue that the Senator from Texas raised is not really the issue because the Senator from Kentucky has offered to modify his amendment and make it a sense-of-the-Senate resolution.

The real issue still before us is whether we want to do something about sewer money. This is the sewer money of American politics. If the Senate wants to go on record in support of sewer money, I will vote against the McConnell amendment.

Mr. President, I reserve the remainder of my time.

Mr. BOREN. How much time remains on this side?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. One-and-a-half minutes.

Mr. BOREN. Looking at the law itself, the way 501(c)(3) has been applied, I mention Treasury regulations section 1.501(c)(3)-1(c)(3)(iii), participation or intervention in the campaign, prohibited participation in intervention in political campaigns, includes but is not limited to the publication, the distribution of written material, or the making of oral statements on behalf or in opposition to a candidate.

In the case of the association of the bar of the City of New York 85 A Federal second 876, Second Circuit, a 1988 case, the court ruled that so-called educational materials may be viewed as partisan if the organization publishes voting records in the areas where the organization also expresses its view. It there applies to 501(c)(3).

Clearly, if we look at these cases and the rulings, if we were to apply that same standard to 501(c) organizations, we could very well prohibit organizations like the American Legion, for example, or agricultural organizations from communicating with their own members and publishing the voting records.

I certainly agree with soft money being disclosed and being stopped as much as possible. We have some very strong provisions in this bill that deal with soft money.

I have indicated a willingness to work with those on the other side to go further. You simply would say that mechanically I do not think this is the way to do it. Whether it is in the form of a sense of the Senate or a direct implementation here, it is something I do not think we should do. But I think

what we should try to do as we go into the conference committee is work on some other reasonable approach. I think again this is the kind of matter that we would want our experts in the Finance Committee to have an opportunity to look at and to construct.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's time has expired.

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, the issue is quite simple. This amendment does not prohibit any 501(c), not a single one of them, from setting up a nonconnected political action committee which would operate in hard money; that is, limited and disclosed and on the FEC report like everybody else in America. It would not require them to give up their right to communicate with their members.

In effect, Mr. President, all this amendment does is turn soft money activity into hard money activity and leave completely unhampered the rights of these 501(c)'s to do the nonpartisan activities that they carry out every day today.

So this is the vote on sewer money, Mr. President. The underlying bill does not do anything about sewer money. It attempts to nail parties, to restrict parties, but it does not do anything about nonparty soft money. If we want to do something about that, Mr. President, I will vote in favor of the McConnell amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time has expired.

Mr. BOREN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senator from Kentucky is recognized.

Mr. BOREN. Do I not have a right to make a motion to request the yeas and nays?

Mr. McCONNELL. I would like the yeas and nays.

Mr. BOREN. Mr. President, I move to table the McConnell amendment, and ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There is a sufficient second.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. BOREN. Mr. President, we are now within 10 minutes of the time for votes to begin. I wonder if I might suggest to my colleague from Kentucky, so that we have about a 10-minute break before we go into the votes, that we might commence consideration of this amendment following those votes. He is next on the list with two different amendments.

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, if I may suggest to the Senator from Oklahoma, it seems to me it would save us time. To finish the list, Senator DOMENICI indicated he will not offer his amendment; I have two amendments; and Senator GRAMM has one.

Mr. BOREN. Mr. President, we are due to commence at 1:30 on the votes. Would the Senator like to lay down his amendment now? How much time is allocated on the next amendment?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Thirty minutes equally divided.

Mr. McCONNELL. I, too, would like to get something to eat, like the Senator. I recommend that we go into a quorum call until the vote starts at 1:30 and handle the last three amendments right after the votes.

Mr. BOREN. I think that would be a good plan.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a quorum call be in order with time not being charged against any pending amendment, that following the votes and the disposition of the Danforth amendment, we then return to consideration of the McConnell amendment dealing with the convention payments.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BOREN. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

AMENDMENT NO. 262

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the hour of 1:30 p.m. having arrived, the question occurs on the motion to table the Roth amendment No. 262.

On this question, the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. FORD. I announce that the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. PRYOR] is absent because of illness.

Mr. SIMPSON. I announce that the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. HELMS] is absent due to a death in the family.

The result was announced—yeas 79, nays 19, as follows:

(Rollcall Vote No. 77 Leg.)

YEAS—79

Adams	Durenberger	Metzenbaum
Akaka	Exon	Mikulski
Baucus	Ford	Mitchell
Benjamin	Fowler	Moynihan
Biden	Glenn	Nickles
Bingaman	Gore	Nunn
Bond	Gorton	Packwood
Boren	Graham	Pell
Bradley	Gramm	Reid
Breaux	Harkin	Riegle
Brown	Hatfield	Robb
Bryan	Heflin	Rockefeller
Bumpers	Hollings	Sanford
Burdick	Inouye	Sarbanes
Burns	Jeffords	Sasser
Byrd	Johnston	Shelby
Coats	Kasten	Simon
Conrad	Kennedy	Specter
Craig	Kerry	Stevens
Cranston	Kohl	Symms
Danforth	Lautenberg	Wallop
Daschle	Leahy	Warner
DeConcini	Levin	Wellstone
Dixon	Lieberman	Wirth
Dole	Mack	Wofford
Domenici	McCain	

NAYS—19

Chafee	Kaasebaum	Rudman
Cochran	Lott	Seymour
Cohen	Lugar	Simpson
Dodd	McConnell	Smith
Garn	Murkowski	Thurmond
Grassley	Pressler	
Hatch	Roth	

NOT VOTING—2

Helms Pryor

So, the motion to lay on the table the amendment (No. 262) was agreed to.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote.

Mr. BOREN. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. On the following votes, under previous order votes have been reduced to 10 minutes each.

AMENDMENT NO. 264

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question now is on agreeing to the motion to lay on the table amendment of the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. NICKLES]. The yeas and nays have been ordered.

The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk called the roll.

Mr. FORD. I announce that the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. PRYOR] is absent because of illness.

Mr. SIMPSON. I announce that the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. HELMS] is absent due to a death in the family.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. DODD). Are there any other Senators in the Chamber who desire to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 54, nays 44, as follows:

(Rollcall Vote No. 78 Leg.)

YEAS—54

Adams	Durenberger	Mikulski
Akaka	Ford	Mitchell
Baucus	Fowler	Moynihan
Benjamin	Glenn	Nunn
Biden	Gore	Pell
Bingaman	Graham	Riegle
Boren	Harkin	Robb
Bradley	Heflin	Rockefeller
Breaux	Inouye	Roth
Bumpers	Johnston	Rudman
Burdick	Kennedy	Sanford
Byrd	Kerry	Sarbanes
Cohen	Kohl	Sasser
Cranston	Lautenberg	Shelby
Daschle	Leahy	Simon
DeConcini	Lieberman	Wellstone
Dixon	Lott	Wirth
Dodd	Metzenbaum	Wofford

NAYS—44

Bond	Gorton	Murkowski
Brown	Gramm	Nickles
Bryan	Grassley	Packwood
Burns	Hatch	Pressler
Chafee	Hatfield	Reid
Coats	Hollings	Seymour
Cochran	Jeffords	Simpson
Conrad	Kaasebaum	Smith
Craig	Kasten	Specter
D'Amato	Kerry	Stevens
Danforth	Levin	Symms
Dole	Lugar	Thurmond
Domenici	Mack	Wallop
Exon	McCain	Warner
Garn	McConnell	

NOT VOTING—3

Helms Pryor

SENATE VOTING RECORD

No. 81

102nd Congress
1st Session

May 23, 1991, 2:37 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-6509

SENATE CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM (TAX EXEMPTIONS)

BILL NO.: S. 3

AMENDMENT NO.: 272

TITLE: "Senate Election Ethics Act of 1991"

SUBJECT: Boren motion to table the McConnell amendment (to the Boren-Mitchell, et al., substitute amendment No. 242) which denies tax-exempt status to any organization (labor organizations, veterans groups, trade associations, etc.) that participates or intervenes in any political campaign on behalf of, or in opposition to, any candidate for public office.

S. 3: Vote Nos. 63-74, 76-85.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (56)			NAYS (41)		NOT VOTING (3)	
Democrats (55 or 100%)	Republicans (1 or 2%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (41 or 98%)	Democrats (2)	Republicans (1)
Adams	Johnston	Hatfield	Bond	Lott	Cranston-2	Helms-4
Akaka	Kennedy		Brown	Lugar	Pryor-3	
Baucus	Kerrey		Burns	Mack		
Bentsen	Kerry		Chafee	McCain		
Biden	Kohl		Coats	McConnell		
Bingaman	Lautenberg		Cochran	Murkowski		
Boren	Leahy		Cohen	Nickles		
Bradley	Levin		Craig	Packwood		
Breaux	Lieberman		D'Amato	Pressler		
Bryan	Metzenbaum		Danforth	Roth		
Bumpers	Mikulski		Dole	Rudman		
Burdick	Mitchell		Domenici	Seymour		
Byrd	Moynihan		Durenberger	Simpson		
Conrad	Nunn		Garn	Smith		
Daschle	Pell		Gorton	Specter		
DeConcini	Reid		Gramm	Stevens		
Dixon	Riegle		Grassley	Symms		
Dodd	Robb		Hatch	Thurmond		
Exon	Rockefeller		Jeffords	Wallop		
Ford	Sanford		Kassebaum	Warner		
Fowler	Sarbanes		Kasten			
Glenn	Sasser					
Gore	Shelby					
Graham	Simon					
Harkin	Wellstone					
Heflin	Wirth					
Hollings	Wofford					
Inouye						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1-Official Business
- 2-Necessarily Absent
- 3-Illness
- 4-Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY-Announced Yea
- AN-Announced Nay
- PY-Paired Yea
- PN-Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—98%

Measure of Party Support on this Vote

For (56)

Democrats—55 or 98%
Republicans—1 or 2%

Against (41)

Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—41 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
George J. Mitchell, Chairman
Thomas A. Daschle, Co-Chairman

Proponents of the amendment asserted that the public should not have to subsidize the partisan political activities of tax-exempt organizations. Tax-exempt organizations formed under section 501(c) of the Internal Revenue Code are actively participating in the political process, and by virtue of their tax-exempt status are being subsidized by the public. Moreover, these organizations are a major source of soft money, they claimed, utilizing computerized phone banks, targeted direct mail, money-transferring schemes and coordinated earned media strategies. If these organizations want to engage in politics, they should either give up their tax-exempt status, or set up a separate political action committee.

Opponents of the amendment pointed out that 501(c) organizations are required to pay taxes on that portion of their income devoted to political activities. The amendment would require these organizations to pay tax on their entire income if any portion were spent for a political purpose. As a result, 501(c) organizations would lose their tax-exempt status even for informing their membership about political issues. The amendment would affect such organizations as the American Legion, VFW, and NRA, as well as civic and business leagues, labor unions, agricultural organizations, and fraternal societies.

EXHIBIT 18

EXHIBIT 18

SENATE VOTING RECORD

No. 84

102nd Congress
1st SessionMay 23, 1991, 4:42 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. 3-6320

SENATE CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM (SOFT MONEY)

BILL NO.: S. 3

AMENDMENT NO.: 275

TITLE: "Senate Election Ethics Act of 1991"

SUBJECT: Boren motion to table the Gramm amendment (to the Boren-Mitchell, et al., substitute amendment No. 242) which requires any labor organization, corporation, or tax-exempt organization which intends to spend at least \$5,000 on any of the following activities to file at least 10 days in advance of such expenditures a written report disclosing the amounts to be spent: (1) direct activities such as cash contributions to candidates and political parties, (2) internal and external communications relating to specific political candidates, causes, and political parties, (3) amounts spent internally to maintain and solicit contributions for a separate, segregated fund, and (4) voter registration drives, State and precinct organizing on behalf of candidates and political parties, and get-out-the-vote campaigns; and requires the report to list all contributions made to the organization since its last report, including the name, address, and occupation of each contributor and the amount contributed.

S. 3: Vote Nos. 63-74, 76-85.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (54)		NAYS (44)			NOT VOTING (2)	
Democrats (54 or 66%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (2 or 4%)	Republicans (42 or 100%)		Democrats (1)	Republicans (1)
Adams	Johnston	Fowler	Bond	Kasten	Pryor-3	Helms-4
Akaka	Kennedy	Hollings	Brown	Lott		
Baucus	Kerrey		Burns	Lugar		
Bentsen	Kerry		Chafee	Mack		
Biden	Kohl		Coats	McCain		
Bingaman	Lausenberg		Cochran	McConnell		
Boren	Leahy		Cohan	Murkowski		
Bradley	Levin		Craig	Nickles		
Breaux	Lieberman		D'Amato	Packwood		
Bryan	Metzenbaum		Danforth	Presler		
Bumpers	Mikulski		Dole	Roth		
Burdick	Mitchell		Domenici	Rudman		
Byrd	Moynihan		Durenberger	Seymour		
Conrad	Nunn		Garn	Stimpton		
Cranston	Pell		Gorton	Smith		
Daschle	Reid		Gramm	Specter		
DeConcini	Riegle		Grassley	Stevens		
Dixon	Robb		Hatch	Symms		
Dodd	Rockefeller		Hatfield	Thurmond		
Exon	Sanford		Jeffords	Wallop		
Ford	Sarbanes		Kasschaum	Warner		
Glenn	Sasser					
Gore	Shelby					
Graham	Simon					
Harkin	Wellstone					
Heflin	Wirth					
Inouye	Wofford					

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1-Official Business
- 2-Necessarily Absent
- 3-Illness
- 4-Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY-Announced Yea
- AN-Announced Nay
- PY-Paired Yea
- PN-Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE

Party Cohesion

Democrats—96%
Republicans—100%

Measure of Party Support on this Vote

For (34)
Democrats—34 or 100%
Republicans—0 or 0%

Against (44)
Democrats—2 or 5%
Republicans—42 or 95%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
George J. Mitchell, Chairman
Thomas A. Daschle, Co-Chairman

Proponents of the amendment asserted that real campaign finance reform is only possible if there is full disclosure of soft money expenditures. The public has a right to know what kinds of contributions are being made on behalf of political candidates.

Opponents of the amendment agreed that the impact of soft money expenditures should be reduced, but cautioned that the Senate should not impede an organization's ability to function. It is unrealistic to expect an organization to have 10 days lead time to file a report with the FEC before responding to a political challenge. This delay effectively silences organizations that are supposed to speak for American citizens.

The bill takes steps to deal with the soft money issue by tightening the definition of soft money and closing the soft money loophole that exists in current law.

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at the conclusion of debate on final passage of the bill. Is that correct?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.

Mr. BOREN. So the sequence would be there would be the conclusion of debate on these three amendments, followed by 15 minutes of debate on final passage of the bill, followed by three votes on the three, on or in relation to the three amendments and then the question would be the vote on final passage then automatically immediately following the other three votes?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Presumably, the Senate would have to vote on the substitute amendment first and then on the bill.

Mr. BOREN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that following the three votes on the amendments, we then proceed immediately to a vote on the substitute, and on the adoption of the bill. I guess that would be the bill as amended by the substitute at that point.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the unanimous-consent request?

Mr. GRAMM. Reserving the right to object, Mr. President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is recognized on his reservation.

Mr. GRAMM. Mr. President, let me just pose a question to our distinguished floor manager. Are we going to cast a vote on the substitute or are we going to cast a vote on the bill? They are the identical issue, and my view is we ought to just do one of them.

Mr. BOREN. I would ask unanimous consent then that we would have a—our intention is to voice vote the substitute and then have the rollcall actually on the bill at that point. So that there would be one rollcall vote.

But my request here, the effect of my request here, would be that the votes on the substitute and the final passage would be stacked to occur immediately after the votes on the three amendments.

I would further ask unanimous consent that the vote on the first amendment be a 15-minute rollcall vote, the vote on the following two amendments be 10-minute rollcall votes. As we would not be pushing on to other business immediately at that point, I would suggest that final passage then or the action on the substitute, on whichever one the roll would be called would be a 15-minute rollcall vote.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

AMENDMENT NO. 275 TO AMENDMENT NO. 242
(Purpose: To require disclosure of certain information concerning the expenditure of union dues, corporate funds, and funds of tax-exempt organizations for political activities)

Mr. GRAMM. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the desk and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the amendment.

The legislative clerk read as follows:
The Senator from Texas [Mr. GRAMM] proposes an amendment numbered 275 to amendment 242.

Mr. GRAMM. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment is as follows:

On page 88, between lines 12 and 13, insert the following:

SEC. 232. LABOR ORGANIZATIONS, CORPORATIONS, AND TAX-EXEMPT ORGANIZATIONS.

Title III of FECA, as amended by section 106, is amended by adding after section 304A the following new section:

"DISCLOSURE OF INFORMATION CONCERNING EXPENDITURE OF UNION DUES, CORPORATE FUNDS, AND FUNDS OF TAX-EXEMPT ENTITIES FOR POLITICAL ACTIVITIES

"Sec. 304B. (a) IN GENERAL.—An organization that intends to make an expenditure of \$5,000 or more on activities described in subsection (b)(1) shall, not later than 10 days prior to making the expenditure, file with the Commission a written report disclosing the intended expenditure.

"(b) CONTENTS.—A report under subsection (a) shall—

"(1) disclose the amount intended to be spent—

"(A) on direct activities, such as cash contributions, to candidates and committees of political parties;

"(B) on internal and external communications relating to specific candidates, political causes, and political parties;

"(C) internally by the organization to maintain, operate, and solicit contributions for a separate segregated fund; and

"(D) on voter registration drives, State and precinct organizing on behalf of candidates and political parties, and get-out-the-vote campaigns;

"(2) for each of the categories of information described in paragraph (1) (A), (B), (C), and (D), identify the candidate for public office on whose behalf the expenditure will be made or the political cause or purpose for which the expenditure will be made;

"(3) list all contributions made to the organization for purposes of activities described in subsection (b)(1) since the date of the most recent report of the organization under this section, stating the amount contributed and the contributor's name, address, and occupation; and

"(4) in the case of a labor organization, list all contributions and expenditures made by separated segregated funds established and maintained by the labor organization since the date of the most recent report of the organization under this section.

"(c) DEFINITIONS.—For the purposes of this section, the term 'organization' means a labor organization, a corporation, or an organization described in section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 that is exempt from taxation under section 501(a) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986."

Mr. GRAMM. Mr. President, we have had two opportunities to deal

with what I believe is the clearest campaign abuse that exists in America today, and that is the whole issue of soft, nonreported money. I think the example of soft, nonreported money, which is most often used in favor of campaign finance reform, is the \$850,000 in corporate money that Charles Keating gave to a tax-exempt organization that engaged in voter registration, for all practical purposes, on behalf of a party and a candidate.

Mr. President, I would think, if our legitimate effort is to reform the system, that the first thing we would want to do is have full disclosure of soft money. I have an amendment, the last opportunity that we are going to have on this bill, to deal with this problem.

This amendment does not ban such spending. All this amendment says is that if corporate money or union money or money from a nonprofit group is going to be used in a soft-money expenditure, that group has to file a report with the Federal Election Commission at least 10 days before they spend the money. The report must state what they are going to do with it, say who they are going to support with it, say how much money they are going to spend, and from whom they received the money.

Mr. President, if our objective is campaign reform, how can we not force someone to report that he is contributing \$850,000 on behalf of somebody's candidacy? If our objective is campaign reform, why should we allow corporations to come in at the last minute with phone banks, door knocking, and other activities on behalf of a candidate, spend millions of dollars to affect the outcome of the election, and yet not allow everybody to know what is occurring until the election is over?

Mr. President, if our objective is fairness and openness in elections, why not require a labor union that comes into a State and makes tens of thousands of telephone calls, to report that activity so that the public can be aware of who is supporting which candidate.

Mr. President, we have had a lot of debate about taxpayer funding of elections. How does that deal with this problem? It does not. We have had a lot of debate about limiting the ability of Aunt Sarah to contribute to somebody's campaign but we do not have a provision in this bill that deals with the real problem with which we claim to be dealing. So this amendment simply says if you are going to spend more than \$5,000 to affect the outcome of an election, you can do it. You can use soft money loophole, although I would like to eliminate it. You just have to tell the public you are doing it, what you are doing, who you are doing it on behalf of and where you got the money.

I feel sorry for someone who feels obligated to oppose this reform which is so reasonable and so logical as to cry

out for support from those who truly want to deal with campaign abuse rather than simply try to tilt the political balance of power.

So I hope my colleagues will accept this amendment and will not require us to have a rollcall vote on it.

I reserve the remainder of my time.

Mr. BOREN. Mr. President, how much time is remaining on each side?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma has 15 minutes, the Senator from Kentucky 11 minutes.

Mr. BOREN. Mr. President, I yield to myself as much time as I might require.

Mr. President, I will not prolong debate on this matter. I know we are hoping to move forward to a vote on final passage as soon as possible. Let me just make a few comments.

When I first heard about this amendment from the Senator from Texas, it was my hope it was an amendment we could accept, because certainly many of us on this side of the aisle, many of us indeed on both sides of the aisle, have a very common feeling about very soft money. I feel very strongly soft money should be disclosed, from whatever source it comes, and I feel that in a very evenhanded way.

It makes no difference to me whether it was a soft money expenditure, for example, of a business corporation or a soft money expenditure of a labor union. It does not matter which side of the fence it is on or which side of the cause it is on.

I feel we should try to reduce the impact of soft money as much as possible and, No. 2, to disclose it wherever we can in an effective way without becoming unduly intrusive into the right of free speech and free expression.

That is why, for example, in S. 3 we really tighten up what is defined as soft money. The big loophole in the past, for example, the Presidential elections, and to some degree in the senatorial and congressional elections, has been for people to get around the limitation on what they can give to candidates by giving large sums of money to parties. This was done, as has been indicated during our debate.

It is a matter that the Senator from Kentucky has often spoken about—the \$100,000 contributors in the Presidential election process by giving money, laundering money in essence, through State party organizations and having money spent through coordinated campaigns as soft money in essence. Both the parties have engaged in this practice and, as far as I am concerned, it is wrong whether it is done by the Republican Party or the Democratic Party.

That is a loophole that needs to be closed. We close that loophole in S. 3. We say these kinds of contributions laundered in essence or made in essence through a conduit of State party organizations shall be treated as if they are not soft money contributions

but hard money actually changing hands for the purpose of influencing a Federal election and therefore they fall under the total limitation as to how much money could be given.

Under S. 3 no launder would be possible to make these \$100,000 contributions, for example, through the conduit of State party organizations for the purpose of influencing Presidential elections. No longer would it be possible to do that for the purpose of influencing congressional elections.

So, in general, I would like to see us find a way—perhaps we did do so in conference to strengthen these provisions even further, as I say, to extend them as much as we can without being intrusive to groups in addition to political parties that service conduits for soft money contributions. I have no quarrel with that. I would like to see us find a way to do that.

That is the reason when I first heard about this amendment I hoped we might be able to accept it. But in looking at the amendment and in researching the amendment particularly as it applies to 501(c)(3) groups, I find there are real problems with it.

I think there are problems with it even as it relates to political organizations as well in terms of the 10-day advanced notice. This is a tremendous burden that is going to be placed on any organization or group to say 10 days in advance, and rapidly changing political situations, exactly what they intend to do.

So I think it would certainly be an intrusion into the affairs of private organizations and requiring 10 days of advance notice would be burdensome in many, many ways.

But some of the things are already covered. The amendment requires reporting of direct contributions to candidates by corporations, labor unions, and 501(c)(3)'s.

All of these activities are already illegal under current law. I assume no one would report them because they are illegal. It requires reporting of external communications relating to specific candidates and political parties. That is also illegal under current law. It requires reporting the cost of maintaining a political action committee. If S. 3 becomes law that would also be illegal.

So that would be nothing to report there because our bill, if it is enacted, in a few moments, and if it finally goes through the House and is signed by the President, would make that practice illegal.

The amendment requires reporting of "get out the vote" campaigns and voter registration drives on behalf of specific candidates. That also is barred, at least for 501(c)(3)'s by current law, and we make additional restrictions on "get out the vote" drives that are contributed to by candidates, financed by candidates under S.3.

We certainly have common ground when we are dealing with that. We deal with it in S. 3 not by requiring

the disclosure of it, but by prohibiting it altogether.

What concerns me is this. The amendment would require reporting 10 days in advance of external communications with respect to political causes. The definition of a political cause at this point would be very difficult under the act. I would be concerned to leave something that important to the Federal Election Commission or some other body or to the courts to determine what a political cause might be.

This could be an unprecedented assault on the free speech rights of private organizations. It would have nothing to do with political campaigns. Under this amendment, not only a labor organization or a corporation, but a 501(c)(3) educational organization could not communicate its position with respect to a political cause without 10 days advanced notice.

We have been hearing from some of these organizations already. For example, let us suppose the Sierra Club wanted to notify its members or run an ad, for example, on clean air legislation. Under this provision they would not be able to do it, that being a political cause, without 10 days' advanced notice.

Corporations could not place an ad, for example, against apartheid or against higher taxes or even against reducing the Federal budget deficit without providing 10 days' advanced notice to the Federal Election Commission, especially since it is so uncertain as to how we would define a political cause.

Mr. President, I think that many of the aspects of the proposal from the Senator from Texas are well-intentioned. But as in the case of the earlier amendment by the Senator from Kentucky which acted upon the tax-exempt status of 501(c) organizations—and I realize this is debatable as we look at the law to interpret the law—it ran the severe risk of reducing the ability of organizations to communicate with their own members. It is my fear, genuine fear, that under the definition of what a political cause would be, including 501(c)(3) organizations as well as labor unions and corporations, this could have a chilling effect on the ability of these groups to really exercise their free speech rights to communicate in terms of a stand they wish to take.

I do not think a corporation decides it wishes to no longer, let us say, invest in a society where apartheid is practiced, wants to communicate its feeling by running an ad on that, has to give advanced notice.

I do not think the Sierra Club or some other organization, NRA, whatever group it might happen to be, should be put in the position of giving that much advance notice if they decide they want to take a public position and try to call all their members around the country to unite behind a

particular activity or a position on a particular bill.

Sometimes organizations simply do not find out about things, even things pending in the Congress, until it is almost time to act upon them. If they were constrained to take action on something deemed to be a political cause for a 10-day period, it might well be too late for them to weigh into the debate.

So I think, in all honesty, the amendment is well-intentioned but I cannot support it because I think it does overreach what I believe is the intent of the sponsor in terms of the way it is drafted.

I would say to my good friend from Texas that again this is a matter with which I will certainly be willing to work with him in the future. I do not want him to read my opposition to this amendment as being in philosophical disagreement with the basic points he makes, because I am not. We could find a way to continue to work on this bill. This process is not over. We will be having a conference committee, as Senator Dole has said, and it is at that point in time when we will be hopefully reaching an agreement with the White House in developing a bipartisan compromise that will enable campaign reform to become law this year.

I would be more than willing and enthusiastic about working with the Senator from Texas between now and that time to see if we can fashion some language that would be acceptable to both of us and would do what we are trying to do; that would hit the target without hitting a lot of other things, as well, and it would avoid unintended consequences.

So, while I regret having to take this position, let me say that I feel obligated to move to table the amendment of my able friend from Texas when the time has expired.

I reserve the remainder of my time.

Mr. GRAMM. Mr. President, let me make it clear that I can answer each of the issues that have been raised by my dear colleague from Oklahoma. First of all, my amendment has nothing to do with advocating a position, advocating an activity of membership, or opposing injustice. My amendment has to do strictly with advocating the election or defeat of people running for public office and candidates of political parties.

So all the argument about corporations and unions communicating to their members has no bearing. Unless they are communicating in such a way as to advocate the election or defeat of a candidate or a party, they would be unaffected.

Mr. President, I think that in the response to this amendment, we see why this is a totally partisan bill, why it will be vetoed by the President, if it is ever adopted by the House, or if the conference report is ever adopted, and why it should be defeated.

First of all, we are talking about soft money, not direct contributions, which

our colleague tells us are banned by unions or corporations. That does not have anything to do with this amendment. This is about money that is spent on behalf of candidates and parties.

Mr. BOREN. Will the Senator yield on my time?

Mr. GRAMM. I will be happy to, but let me finish my points, and then I will be glad to yield.

We have banned one source of soft money; that is from political parties. I hope my colleagues understand that that is clearly intended to affect one political party, and that is the party that uses the party mechanism. The party that uses special-interest groups, and 501(c)(3)'s, and labor unions is totally and absolutely exempt in this bill from an form of regulation.

All I am asking is that we let the public know what these special-interest groups are doing. We talk about the chilling effect on 501(c)(3)'s. Should we not ask for a report from the 501(c)(3) that takes \$850,000 from somebody who clearly is advocating an interest?

Let me remind my colleagues that I would like to ban such activity, but the other side has already rejected that but the public has a right to know when someone gives, for example, \$850,000 to assist a candidate. Then let the public decide whether they want to be affected by that or not.

Under current law, someone can go out and spends millions of dollars, and the public never knows they do it. So, Mr. President, we are talking about soft money that is spent by nonpolitical parties.

All I am asking is if you are going to advocate the election or defeat of somebody, give public notice 10 days before you do it, tell them who you are supporting or opposing, what you are going to do, and where you got your money. That seems to me, Mr. President, as legitimate as any possible amendment could be.

I yield the remainder of my time.

Mr. McCONNELL. I thank my friend for offering what will now be the third amendment in this debate, going back to last summer. And the majority rejected, both last summer and a few moments ago, efforts by this side to eliminate soft money altogether. Not that it would restrict the activity of individuals. They would simply set up a nonconnected PAC and participate in that way.

Now the Senator from Texas has come forward and said, if you are not willing to ban it, at least are you willing to disclose it? As I understand the amendment of the Senator from Texas, we hear that even here there is opposition from the other side.

Mr. President, you cannot have a bill that calls itself campaign finance reform that leaves this kind of gaping loophole. In fact, I say to my friend from Texas that this bill we are going to vote on was designed by the Democratic National Committee to nail par-

ties to nail individual donors, to dip into the Treasury, and to allow all of the groups, which my friend from Texas would at least like to disclose, to operate completely freely, unlimited, undisclosed. If that is not sewer money, I do not know what it is. The failure to accept these amendments that have been offered by the Senator from Texas and the Senator from Kentucky make this bill ridiculous, if it is going to be called campaign finance reform.

I retain the remainder of my time.

Mr. BOREN. How much time is remaining on each side?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma has 5 minutes, 42 seconds. The Senator from Kentucky has 5 minutes, 54 seconds.

Mr. BOREN. I will not prolong the debate. Let me say that I almost think that my colleague was a little suspicious, having heard the last remarks that were made. Let me say, I think no one would be more surprised than the Democratic National Committee, if they were to hear that they were the architects of this proposal. I have been getting phone calls almost every day from the Democratic National Committee telling me that they are violently opposed to the provisions of this bill that would close what I regard as a loophole, in terms of preventing soft money from being contributed through the State party organization and other party organizations as conduits. S. 3 goes a long way—in fact, as far as you go—and it was our intent to totally close off any activity such as those that were allowed to happen by Mr. Keating. We do not allow people to make huge contributions to party organizations anymore, to pass soft money through in that way. We do not allow Members to raise money nor 501(c)(3) organizations that are aimed at getting out the vote in terms of influencing elections. We would tighten up the bundling requirements so you could not have an individual like Keating go out raising money from a lot of other people and bundling it together in a bundle to give to a candidate saying, "Look, I have given you \$100,000 and \$200,000, because I have gone out and raised this money, bundled it together, and given it to you." So provision after provision after provision in S. 3 would put a stop to that kind of activity.

So, indeed, I point out to my colleagues on the other side of the aisle that there has been nothing, absolutely nothing, introduced in any of the bills by those on the other side of the aisle that would do anything to stop the use of the party organizations as conduits for this kind of soft money. In fact, it is both political parties that have done it, not just the Republican Party. I will be quick to say that. The Democratic Party has done it, too, getting \$100,000 contributors, for example, and giving to Presidential campaigns and to say they are giving it to

the State party organizations having the State parties run the advertising, for example, in an attempt to influence the Presidential election, no, that is not just the Republican Party that has done that. I do not think they should attempt to take on all that guilt. The Democratic Party has done so as well. I say very plainly that this is a bipartisan problem, and we need a bipartisan solution to it.

I will go to page 2 of the amendment of the Senator from Texas, if I could have his attention for a minute. On page 2, paragraph (b), which is down on line 16 of the amendment of the Senator from Texas, this is what concerns me. It talks about: a report would be required 10 days in advance on internal and external communications relating to specific candidates, political causes, and political parties.

That is what I was talking about a minute ago. If the Sierra Club notifies its members about getting geared up to come and be for clean air legislation, or if some business organization that thinks that bill is burdensome wants to notify people to be against it, or if a corporation wants to run an ad against apartheid, or higher taxes, or budget deficits, is that not an external communication in my last example, or internal in the case of the Sierra Club, or National Rifle Association, or Farmers Union, or any other group contacting its own members about a bill, is that not an internal communication about a political cause? I assume it is a political cause. The cause of trying to pass or kill legislation is certainly a political cause. I assume a communication for or against apartheid or budget deficits would be a political cause. Would that not be required to have a 10 days advanced notice report? And who would, in fact, define the term "political cause" under the Gramm amendment? Would we leave that to the discretion of the Federal Election Commission and the courts, or how would that be defined?

Mr. GRAMM. Mr. President, if the distinguished Senator will yield, we would leave it to the same group that defines all of these other terms that we use in election law. That is the Federal Election Commission to which we give vast new powers under this bill, to which we give a massive new budget under this bill.

Why is it that we can give them all this power to limit political parties which are formed for the sole purpose of electing people to public office, and yet we give them no power to deal with sewer money? That is what I do not understand and that is what the American people will never understand. Our dear colleague is doing a masterful job in presenting a position that is totally and absolutely indefensible.

Mr. BOREN. Mr. President, with all due respect I appreciate the compliment of the masterful job I am doing. It is not masterful when you get up,

state the facts, and tell the truth about what we do. We close the loophole in what somebody called sewer money in terms of what Mr. Keating has done. We make it illegal, illegal for him to operate through a 501(c)(3) organization in terms of money being raised by a candidate for a get-out-the-vote drive; we make it illegal for him to bundle together contributions; we make it illegal for someone like Mr. Keating to make contributions of soft money through using the party committees as a conduit; and no proposals from the other side of the aisle would do that.

I can only say that I believe, to paraphrase the television show of some years ago, I have just given the facts, nothing but the fact, and there is nothing masterful about it. It is just the truth and we may have the very same intention, but I would just say again to my friend from Texas, we have heard so much about the chilling effect on free speech and how we have to be careful about free expression and require 10 days advanced notice about any organization wishing to make some comment about a political cause. I think that is so wide open that it really could have a chilling effect.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from Oklahoma has expired.

The Senator from Texas has remaining 5 minutes and 45 seconds.

Mr. GRAMM. Mr. President, this bill bans soft money expenditures by only one group, by only one group, and that group consists of the political parties which are formed for the sole purpose of electing candidates. No one is deceived as to what the Republican Party is trying to do or what the Democrat Party is trying to do. In fact, all of the expert campaign finance negotiators agreed that we should strengthen the parties not weaken them.

This bill bans political parties from doing these things but, remarkably, it does nothing to limit the ability of corporations, labor unions or nonprofit organizations from doing these things. This bill does attempt to close a little bit of the loophole about get-out-the-vote, but nothing in this bill would stop a labor union or a corporation or an individual from giving \$1 million to a 501(c)(3) to do voter registration or party ID or other activities that are virtually important in campaigns.

If a labor union comes into a State, as happens every single year in small States—labor unions come in and spend hundreds of thousands of dollars on telephones, calling up people, advocating the election or defeat of candidates, and people who vote never get to know it—how is allowing that in any way reasonable when you ban a political party from doing it? All we are asking here is that people know the facts.

I do not understand the so-called chilling effect. If people are afraid to tell the public what they are doing,

would they ought not to be doing it. I do not understand a chilling effect. If I am going to spend \$1 million to elect someone, people have a right to know who I am and what I am doing. Then they can judge whether to elect the candidate or not.

I understand the distinguished assistant Republican leader wished to speak on this subject.

Let me just conclude then by saying, Mr. President, we have a bill before us that, remarkably, bans political parties from soft money political activities but leaves everybody else able to do it. There is only one reason that a bill would do something like that and that is when a bill is motivated by partisan advantage. My amendment is a fairness amendment. It should have been accepted. I hope my colleagues will vote for it.

I am not deceived. I know that Members on the other side are going to vote to table it. I think this again is more living proof that despite the fact that there is room for legitimate reform, we ought to be doing it, we agree on some fundamentals, but that is not going to happen here because we are seeing a determined effort to unfairly tilt the election process.

Mr. McCONNELL. How much time remains on the Gramm amendment?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Two minutes and thirty seconds.

Mr. McCONNELL. I yield that time to Senator SIMPSON for some comments on the bill.

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, I rise in opposition to the so-called campaign finance reform substitute amendment. At the heart of this legislation is the same "beat up" and tired old refrain that the majority Democratic Party in Congress has been softly crooning to us for several years now. They call this old tune the "Reformer's March" when the real title of their ragged song and dance should be "the incumbent protection plan shuffle." I will outline my objections to this legislation and explain why I am proud to be a co-sponsor of various Republican alternatives.

In the Buckley versus Valeo decision, the Supreme Court upheld the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 with respect to limiting of the maximum amount an individual could contribute to a campaign. However, the Court held that any limits on personal campaign expenditures were unconstitutional. The lower court had said the \$1,000 maximum contribution was constitutional based on the Government's interest in reducing the appearance of corruption. This Government interest was sufficiently important to overcome a person's freedom to make an unlimited contribution. However, the Supreme Court struck down spending limits and said that the Government could not restrict the speech of some persons in order to enhance the First Amendment speech rights of others. Nor could the Government re-

individual organizers who were less likely to provide the campaign with receipts and other supporting documents than were commercial vendors hired in traditional campaigns.

In its Statement of Reasons, the Commission pointed out that nearly all the campaign's disbursements to individuals were supported solely by campaign paperwork; there was no documentation from the individual payees on how the money was spent. Furthermore, the Commission noted that the campaign had a difficult time keeping adequate records even for expenditures to large commercial vendors.

The campaign further argued that checks made out to traditional campaign vendors, such as direct mail houses or sign companies, should be considered qualified campaign expenses even without any supporting documents from the payee. The Commission disagreed, stating that "the statute and the Commission's regulations require that all disbursements be documented so that subjective conclusions based on the identity of the payee will not rule. The [Jackson campaign] Committees [were] held to the same standards as the other 1988 presidential committees."

Other Repayments

The Jackson campaign also disputed the repayment of \$10,196, which represented the matching funds it received for excessive contributions, which are not matchable. The campaign argued that the public funds should be seen as matching payments for earlier contributions from the same donors. The Commission pointed out, however, that it can only match specific checks submitted for matching and that the campaign had not submitted the earlier checks.

The Jackson campaign additionally had to pay \$18,953, the pro rata portion of \$61,127 in income tax penalties, which are not considered qualified campaign expenses. Finally, the campaign had to pay \$1,689, the amount of stale-dated checks never cashed by the payees. ♦


OGC Docket



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

SENSITIVE

MEMORANDUM

TO: THE COMMISSION
FROM: MARJORIE W. EMMONS/BONNIE J. ROSS 
DATE: MAY 19, 1993
SUBJECT: MUR 3774 - COMPLAINT

The attached document is being circulated for your information.

Attachment